ugust 1974

Watergate Scapegoats; Homesteading Harlem; Air Rhodesia;
Mobile Home Misery; Kopkind on Heilbroner; Herb Kohl/$1

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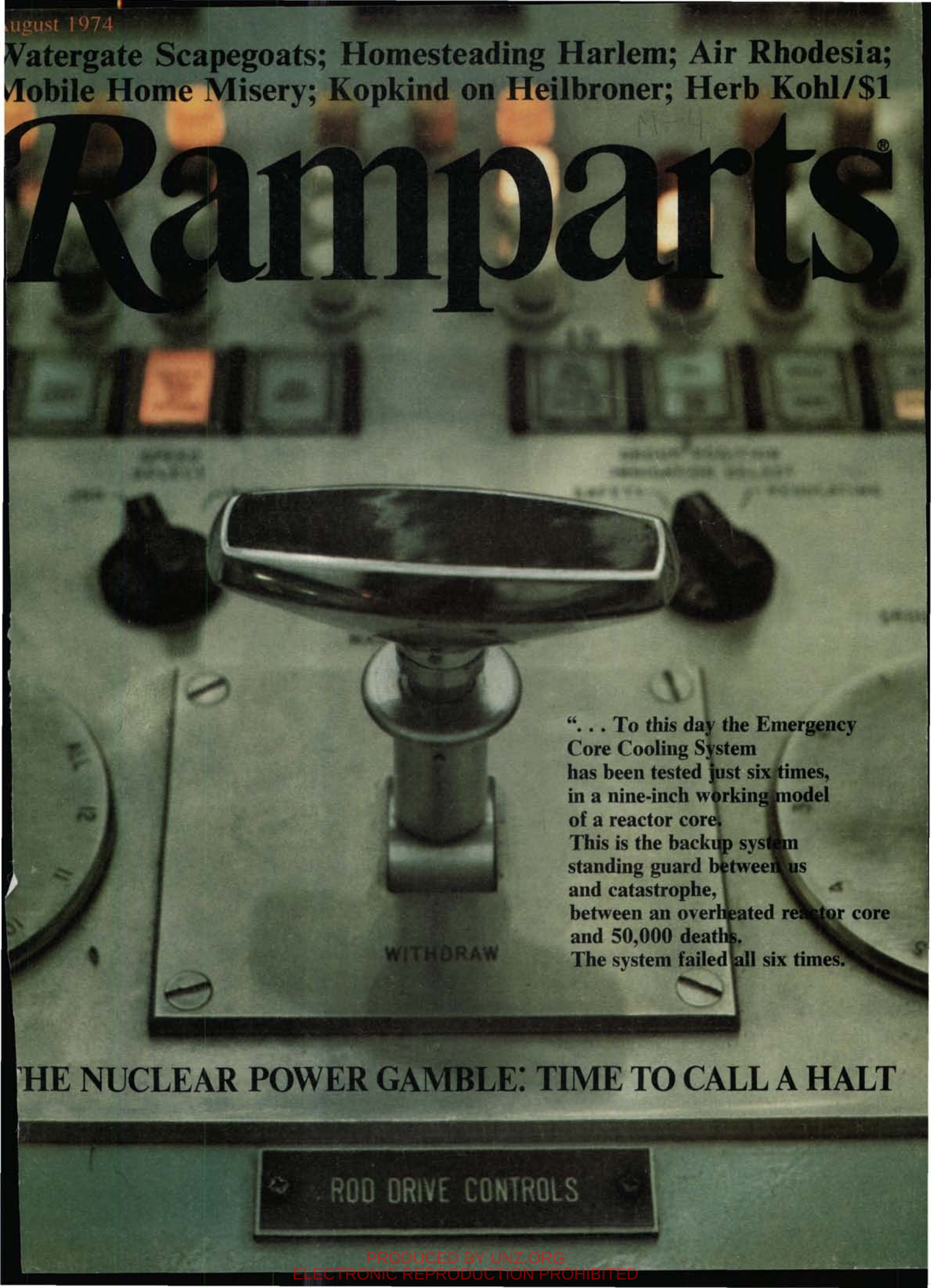

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and 50,000 deaths.
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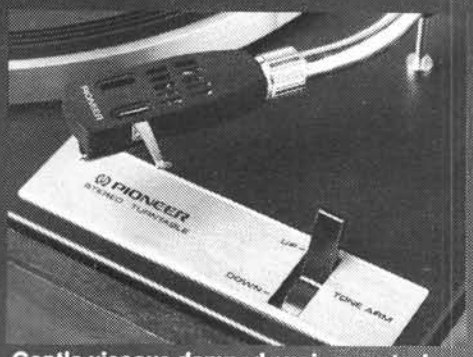

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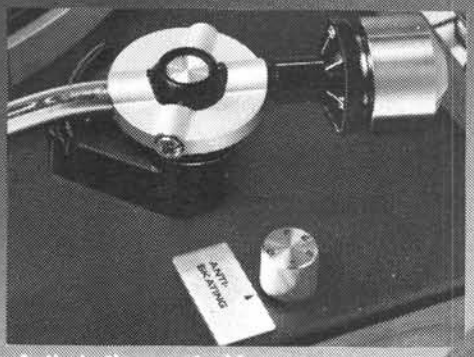

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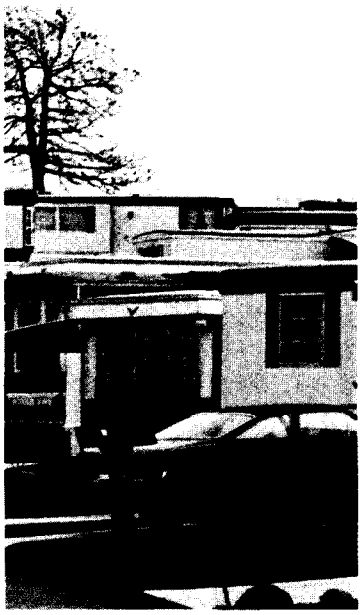

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Ramparts

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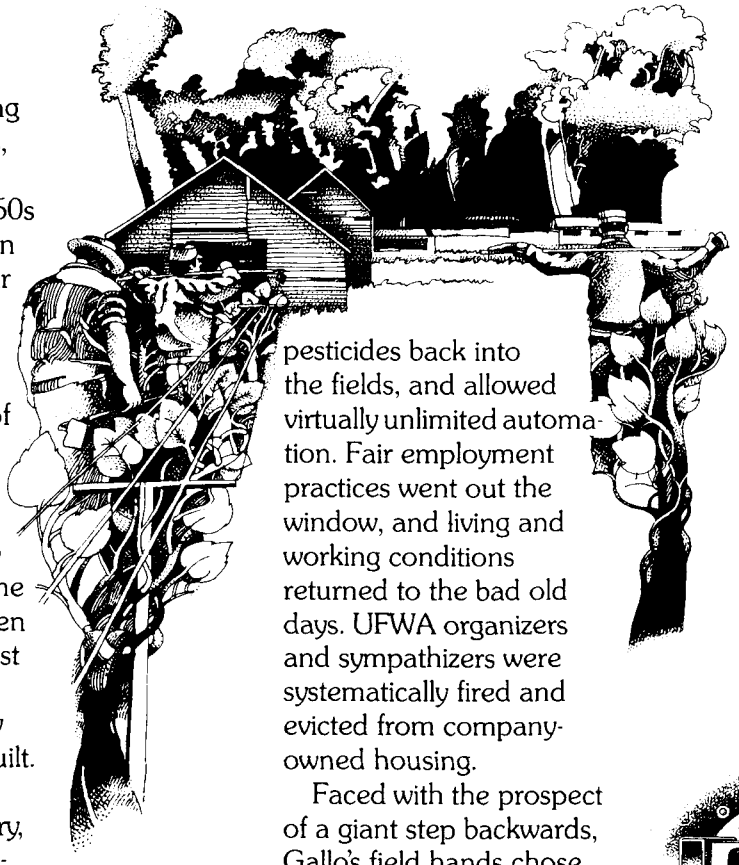
AMERICA'S FARMWORKERS ARE ASKING YOU TO BOYCOTT GALLO WINES.

HERE'S WHY:

After suffering for years under unspeakable living and working conditions, America's farmworkers came together in the 1960s to form a union, a union that would fight for their rights and articulate their needs.

The union was the United Farm Workers of America (UFWA), and under its leadership conditions improved dramatically. A little *too* dramatically to suit some of the growers, and when the contracts expired last summer many growers did their best to destroy what the workers had built. Ernest and Julio Gallo, the world's largest winery, spearheaded the union-busting effort.



Last June, Gallo announced that UFWA contracts would not be renewed. New contracts were signed with the Teamsters Union, contracts that had been worked out behind closed doors with no worker participation. Not surprisingly, the contracts gave Gallo and the Teamsters Union everything they wanted, and gave the workers almost nothing.

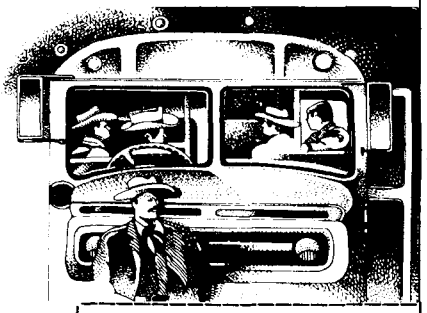
The Teamsters' contracts brought dangerous pesticides back into the fields, and allowed virtually unlimited automation. Fair employment practices went out the window, and living and working conditions returned to the bad old days. UFWA organizers and sympathizers were systematically fired and evicted from company-owned housing.

Faced with the prospect of a giant step backwards, Gallo's field hands chose to go out on strike. But men, women and children manning the picket lines were met with a massive campaign of violence and intimidation forcing them to withdraw from the fields and return to the consumer boycott. But they need your help to make it work.

The basic issue in the Gallo boycott is, simply, democracy. The workers want the right to choose their own union through free, independently supervised elections.

Other American workers are guaranteed this right by law, but agricultural workers aren't. By boycotting *all* Gallo products, you can help give them this basic right.

Boone's Farm, Spanada, Ripple, Thunderbird, Tyrolia, Andre, Eden Roc, Carlo Rossi, Red Mountain and Paisano are all made by Gallo, and should be avoided. America's farmworkers have broken their backs for hundreds of years to put food on your table. Now they're asking you to do something for them. Will you?



I enclose $ _____ to help the farm workers survive the coming weeks or months without a working wage.

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Letters

[ONE WHO GOT AWAY]

Editors:

I wonder why Tom Zeman devoted so much space in your June issue to painting such a distorted picture of me ["The Watergate Net: One Who Got Away," *Ramparts*, July 1974]. It is my conviction that I acted exactly correctly to meet and discharge my responsibilities in all of the items used to weave this picture. As far as I know there is nobody who was involved in any of these matters who has expressed any other view and I believe all of them share my conviction.

I don't want to burden your paper with the details. But perhaps a sense of fairness will impel you to carry a few specifics from the record which Mr. Zeman's work omitted:

1. It was the SEC which under my direction and leadership developed both the Vesco and ITT cases.

2. All SEC actions on these matters were taken by unanimous vote of the full Commission.

3. The SEC's handling of the ITT and Vesco cases has been examined by the prosecutors and grand juries in New York and Washington and Congressional investigations and hearings, and no one has charged any impropriety or wrongdoing.

4. I have been confirmed by the U.S. Senate on four separate occasions. Committees of that body have examined each and every incident cited in the Zeman story. In four roll calls, only one vote has been cast against my confirmation.

William J. Casey
Washington, D.C.

Zeman replies: I am pleased to see that Mr. Casey and I have no differences on the facts of his career. His admission of responsibility for "direction and leadership" of the Vesco and ITT investigations is also a refreshing contrast to some of his earlier statements and non-statements on these matters. I take it that Casey is thereby acknowledging a central role in "punishing" ITT with only a warning after a major violation of SEC rules, deleting an SEC staff-supported fraud charge against ITT, deliberately withholding the SEC's files on ITT from congressional investigators, deleting information about a Vesco contribution to the Nixon campaign from an SEC suit, and meeting with Vesco's attorneys under extremely suspicious circumstances.

Three of the four Senate confirmations alluded to in Casey's letter were specifically mentioned in my article, and Casey's testimony at one hearing was discussed at length. In the face of Casey's history, which, in fact, was not revealed by Casey himself, but was uncovered by a *Wall Street Journal* reporter and Senator Proxmire *after* an initial Senate Committee confirmation vote, I find the last three routine votes of approval given to Casey an appalling and telling lapse of congressional responsibility.

[SOLZHENITSYN AND STALIN]

Editors:

The publishing of *Gulag Archipelago* is bringing to the attention of the public what Trotskyists have been saying for a long time—that the Stalinist regime killed an incredible number of people, including a whole generation of the most dedicated revolutionaries. Surely a political revolution is needed to establish democratic rights in Russia. And surely all radicals need to face up to the truth of the repression in Russia, as Horowitz so well points out.

But there is another legacy of Stalinism which continues to have a disastrous effect on the fight for a decent society. That is the attempt to build socialism in one country, the Soviet Union, while peacefully coexisting with capitalism. This legacy has resulted in the selling out of one revolutionary situation after another—Spain in the thirties, France and Italy immediately after World War II when the Communists could have taken power but yielded to bourgeois governments, Indonesia in the sixties, Chile last fall, and perhaps Portugal right now as Communist and Socialist leaders return from exile and announce that they are willing to be part of a capitalist government! How different was Lenin's reaction on returning to Russia in the spring of 1917!

It is time that this policy of "don't rock the capitalist boat" be exposed, just as the extent of the repression in Russia is now being exposed. There has been too much blood in the streets from dedicated revolutionaries who trusted till too late in bourgeois governments and bourgeois armies!

Mary F. Walter
Denver, Colo.

["ARCHITECTS OF GENOCIDE"]

Editors:

A. Ernest Fitzgerald's article on Lockheed (*Ramparts*, June 1974) gave an excellent presentation of the greed and unethical business practices common to the military/industrial complex. Reference to the incredible bungling and waste inherent in this business should help to dispel the popular myth that private industry is generally efficient and resourceful.

A more tragic element manifest in the military/industrial complex is that its very existence is dependent upon an economics of death. The military budget for the coming year is another record, with a major portion designed to pay for massive new genocidal weapon systems. This includes such programs as the Trident submarine missile system, and the B-1 bomber, which, together, will cost over $100 *billion* before completion.

Through an annual budget which exceeds most countries, the Pentagon and its industrial arms have achieved a domination over our society. The Pentagon estimated the value of its real and personal property as $214 *billion* in 1970. It is, in fact, the largest business in the world, operating some 2500 military bases around the globe and entering into more than 20,000 major industrial contracts each year.

In terms of outright sales of armaments, the military/industrial complex accounts for some $5 *billion* annually. It is estimated that over the past 50 years the United States is responsible for scattering some $50 *billion* worth of armaments around the world.

A few decades ago the arms manufacturers were labeled the "merchants of death." With the development of technology they have evolved to architects of genocide. The military/industrial complex has become a malignant cancer which is eating away the wealth, resources and spirit of this country. The great challenge now facing the American people is to break the stranglehold of the military and its industrial arm and redirect our wealth toward solving our human and environmental problems, as well as aiding that majority of mankind which is faced with hunger and starvation.

Douglas Mattern
PEACE UNION
Palo Alto, Calif.

[AID TO GIs]

Editors:

The Nixon-appointed U.S. Supreme Court has finally taken the veil off the U.S. military justice system and revealed what we who have been involved with military law knew to be true all along: that the military justice system is being used to elicit blind obedience from its subjects in order to carry out a mission that very few could in conscience support. Ruling in the case of Captain Levy, an ex-Army medical officer who was tried for counseling black GIs not to go to Vietnam, the Court in a 5-3 decision upheld the legality (not the constitutionality) of the Catch-22 of military justice. Rehnquist wrote for the majority:

> *While the members of the military are not excluded from the protections guaranteed by the First Amendment, the different character of the military community, and of the military mission require a different application of those protections. The fundamental necessity for obedience and the consequent necessity for the imposition of discipline may render permissible within the military that which would be constitutionally impermissible outside it.*

When the United States had more than 500,000 troops in Vietnam there was a great deal of public attention directed at the dissent that service men and women were expressing against the "military mission." The military generally was quick to respond to criticism of it or of the government's policies in Asia. Their fear was obvious: any opposition however minimal threatened their

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Who washes the media's dirty linen?

When Roger Mudd prepared a script on the reasons CBS management dropped instant analysis of Presidential speeches, did network officials allow Mudd's report on the air?

You bet they didn't.

The only place that script appeared was in the pages of (MORE) magazine.

And when Spiro Agnew got the publisher of *The Baltimore Sun* to kill reporter Gordon Chaplin's story on the marketing of government improvements on Agnew's house, who printed that story—and the reasons for its suppression?

(MORE) magazine.

When news of the secret bombings in Cambodia lost out in press coverage to the Watergate scandal, who went after Clifton Daniel, Washington bureau chief for *The New York Times*, to get the answer: "I don't know that there's any news in it... Who's going to sue President Nixon for bombing some peasants in Cambodia?"

(MORE) published the quote and the whole sorry story.

The media may occasionally rise to greatness when exposing the foibles of government and big business, but they can be equally great at whitewashing their own dirty linen.

(MORE) has shown repeatedly that the shining knights of the communications industry are more than slightly soiled. While we can't clean up the dirty dealings, we do a damn good job of exposing them to public view.

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- "Meet the Press:" The Promotion Game
- Giving TV Back to the Indians
- How They Edit at *Esquire*
- The Politics of Leakmanship
- How IBM Spindles the Media

And in the coming months, we'll cover:

- Ken Clawson's White House Media Operation
- The Marketing of Watergate
- A Profile of *Rolling Stone*
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ability to maintain a blindly obedient fighting force. But the withdrawal of the troops from Vietnam and the switch to the Volunteer Army (VOLAR) does not indicate a change in the military mission.

What the U.S. military has done in recent years is to simply move its bases of operations to be closer to its targets and further from the civilian base of support that people in the military need in order to stand up for their rights as human beings.

To secure oil resources for the U.S. and its allies the U.S. military is intending to establish a $75 million base on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, complete with B-52 runways and port facilities for aircraft carriers and atomic submarines. Japan, strategically important for U.S. hegemony in Asia, has already seen a tremendous increase of U.S. military activity within its territory. Perhaps the most blatant example of the strategic role of Japan in U.S. global strategy has been home-porting the 51,000-ton aircraft carrier Midway with its 4500-man crew in Yokosuka, Japan.

On June 14, as the Midway was about to sail for training exercises, about 200 sailors, mostly black but including many whites and Puerto Ricans, jumped ship. They were protesting the racist conditions on board which have been manifest in duty assignments, promotions and especially in the administration of justice. The skipper of the Midway, Captain Schulte, is such a hard-nosed disciplinarian that there are waiting lists for the brig, which is filled mostly with blacks. Numerous reports of beatings by prison guards have caused many of the sailors to fear for their physical safety.

Another important focus of the protest is the home-porting of the Midway in Yokosuka, Japan. Most of the protesting sailors are young and unmarried, or of such lower rank that they are not allowed to have their family in Japan; living facilities aboard the Midway are run down and overcrowded. Home-porting also makes what civilian legal support is available to the sailors scant but critical.

The protest was well organized and showed an unusual degree of cooperation among black and white sailors, about 150 of whom met in a coffee shop after the incident to plan further actions to dramatize their protest.

For the last few years the military law office of the National Lawyers Guild has been providing civilian counsel skilled in military law to defend GIs stationed at the major U.S. military bases in the Pacific. It is the only organization which provides such support. Since the Midway incident more than 40 of the sailors have either been apprehended or have turned themselves in. Many were flown right back out to the Midway to the same conditions they are protesting. Many fear for their physical safety; their legal status is very uncertain.

In the past the MLO has defended GIs arrested for circulating the first amendment as a petition to Congress while off duty off base and out of uniform. Last July 4 we defended GIs who were arrested for passing out the Declaration of Independence. A large proportion of past cases involved black sailors up against a predominantly white command. The prevailing government position on justice in the military, as seen in the Rehnquist decision, indicates that things are not getting any better.

The men of the Midway can expect little justice from Captain Schulte, who has issued a warning of harsh discipline for all those who jump ship. One thing is certain: theirs will be a "legal" battle. It will take a lot of time and expense for the defense of these men and other important military cases. Without this kind of legal support for servicepeople we give the U.S. military carte blanche for developing the kind of fighting force that will readily get us into many Vietnams. To give legal support we need financial support. If any of you can contribute to this task, or if you can provide us with contacts with others who would support this work, the men of the Midway will be among the first to appreciate it.

Please send correspondence and/or contributions to the Military Law Office, 2588 Mission Street, Room 220, San Francisco, Ca. 94110.

Thanks,
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Military Law Office

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[GM AND THE NAZIS]

Editors:

I was especially interested in the article, "GM and the Nazis," by Bradford Snell in the June 1974 *Ramparts*. I was a member of an ordnance unit that was assigned the task of getting the Ford Motor Company plant in Cologne back into production soon after the German Army retreated across the Rhine.

We found almost no damage to the factory, only some windows had been broken by German artillery shells fired by the German Army from the east bank of the Rhine; therefore "a little less than $1 million (for damages) sustained by (Ford's) military truck complex at Cologne" seems more than ample. Most of Cologne had been leveled by saturation bombing by Allied planes; but Ford's plant was spared. The German workers told us that they used the building as an air raid shelter after it became obvious that no bombs were being dropped on the plant.

A production expert from Ford of England was billeted with my outfit in Bad Godesberg while he got the plant back into production within a few days after his arrival. I questioned him about the anomaly of the Ford Company plant having been producing motors for the German Army only a few weeks before, but he saw absolutely nothing incongruous, and certainly nothing immoral or unethical about the situation.

E. F. Patterson
Davidson, N. Carolina

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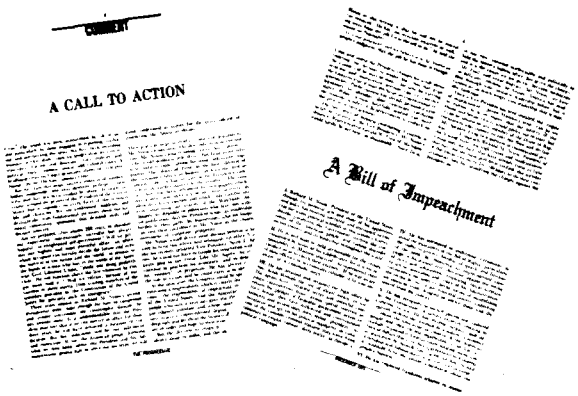
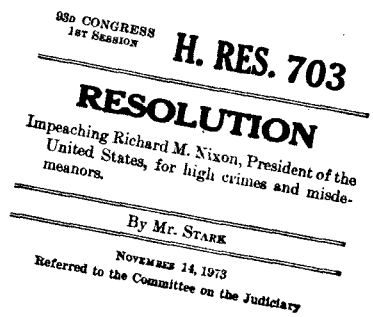


These editorials in a recent issue of The Progressive were used verbatim in this Congressional resolution calling for the impeachment of the President and continue to generate nationwide response...



93D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 703

RESOLUTION

Impeaching Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

By Mr. STARK

NOVEMBER 14, 1973

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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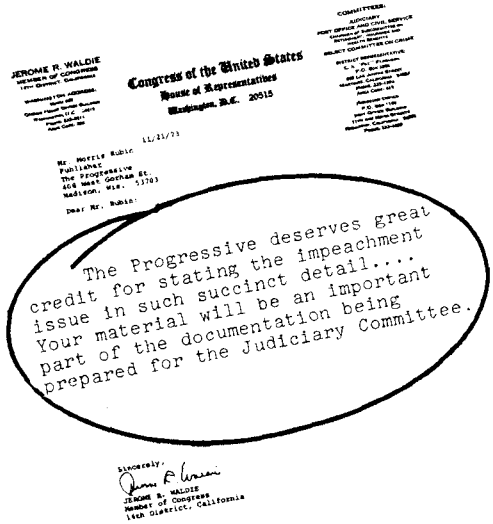

JEROME R. WALDIE
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
14TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
JUDICIARY
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON CRIME

DISTRICT OFFICE:
[illegible]

11/21/73

Mr. Morris Rubin
Publisher
The Progressive
408 West Gorham St.
Madison, Wis. 53703

Dear Mr. Rubin:

The Progressive deserves great credit for stating the impeachment issue in such succinct detail.... Your material will be an important part of the documentation being prepared for the Judiciary Committee.

Sincerely,
Jerome R. Waldie
JEROME R. WALDIE
Member of Congress
14th District, California

JRW/mc

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"MURDER MOUTHING"

Editors:

Your article on the SLA [*Ramparts,* May 1974] was mendacious and cruel. You slandered selfless revolutionaries who, as much as anyone else in North America, chose to walk the dangerous and heroic path mapped out in the visions and practice of Che Guevara. In this, *Ramparts* was not exceptional. All over the United States radicals stumbled over each other in a pathetic rush to get an inch or two of media space, to proclaim their total disdain for the SLA, denouncing them as "fanatics," "murderers," "extortionists," "people who love to kill for its own sake," and finally, just so the Left would not have to look honestly into the mirror of conscience, as CIA agents out to start a Reichstag fire.

The most ironic part, for me, is that when reading the long list of condemners, I find many old friends who once proclaimed the absolute necessity of establishing SLA-type guerrilla units. They argued that the Black Revolution was being held back because of the failure of white radicals to mobilize military support. After People's Park was drenched in blood, it was hard to find anybody who hadn't bought a rifle or who wasn't planning to do so.

Now, some of those same people, who like the SLA, once took rifle practice in the Oakland Hills at the Chabot Gun Club, declare their belief in the possibility of a peaceful American Revolution. Do they really think that "peaceful transition" is the true lesson of Attica, Chile and Watergate?

Finally, I wonder if *Ramparts* Editors would have been able to perform their hatchet job if Eldridge Cleaver was still an active editor. Cleaver's position on taking up the gun *now* was once powerfully stated in your pages.

The SLA leaders are dead, murdered genocide style, and doesn't *Ramparts* and the rest of the New Responsible Left have a little blood on its hands? Weren't you all saying to Saxbe and Kelly, in clever ways and between the lines, that it was cool with you if they shot to kill?

Stew Albert
Hurley, New York

Dear Stew,

Let's get a few things straight. *Ramparts* never "proclaimed the absolute necessity of establishing SLA-type guerrilla units in the United States" and *Ramparts* editors (at least those who have directed the magazine since 1969) never "took rifle practice in the Oakland Hills" in preparation for armed struggle—not out of cowardice, but because armed struggle by self-appointed guerrilla units at any time during the last decade in the United Sates would have been (and is) suicidal madness of which we want no part. We made some mistakes in judgment. We did endorse the concept of revolution "as humanely as possible, but by any means necessary" in a way that might have suggested immediate armed struggle. But even then we never meant it to encourage people to take up arms outside any context of political struggle and mass political movement, or to form self-appointed execution squads to off black educators and other "enemies of the people."

It is true that Eldridge Cleaver (who was never in any real sense an "active editor of *Ramparts*") advocated taking up the gun in *Ramparts*' pages. It is also true that in splitting the Black Panther Party, Eldridge incited several party members who were standing trial in New York to abandon their comrades and leave the country because they could never get a fair trial in fascist "Amerika," while others were encouraged to form the Black Liberation Army for the same reason. It is also true that the Panther 21 were subsequently acquitted, leaving the exiles in exile, and most of the Black Liberation Army dead from gun battles with the police, or in prison. Some people learn from experience. Why haven't you?

All this has nothing whatsoever to do with the question of whether it is possible to have a peaceful revolution in America. It has to do with the imperatives of political struggle now. The Chilean example does show that even a liberal ruling class will throw democracy to the military wolves when its class privileges are at stake. There is no doubt in our minds that a mass revolutionary movement (with the emphasis on *mass*) will provoke an armed counter-revolutionary force, for which it must be prepared. But what is the concrete situation now, when there is no mass revolutionary movement with even the remotest prospect of seizing state power? What are the present options?

Three years ago we ran an article on the Weather Underground, making it clear that we thought that the Weather analysis—which held that a war situation existed inside the United States and that armed struggle was identical with revolution—was both dangerous and false. At that time, the Weather Underground appeared to agree. Now Bernadine Dorhn has issued communiques showing that she has gone back to the old bankrupt analysis. What could be crueller than to incite more dedicated people to pick up the gun and get slaughtered?

Let's get another thing straight. To say that the SLA was murdered is ludicrous. The SLA styled itself an "army"; virtually its first public statement was a "declaration of war," and its chief slogan "Death to the fascist insect" was clearly not meant rhetorically. The SLA was armed to the teeth and in actions on three separate occasions showed that it was prepared to use its weapons, shooting on sight with no questions asked. To say in the circumstances that the SLA was murdered is ridiculous and slights the dignity of their deaths. They lost a battle. They knew the odds from the beginning. (The idea that the police looked to *Ramparts* for a green light to go in and kill the SLA and therefore that in some way we are responsible for their deaths is too stupid to merit a reply.)

The deaths of six young and dedicated people, particularly such violent deaths, arouse a natural sympathy. The personal histories of those who died, which became known after the shootout, tend to increase that sympathy. They were politically naive, not more than a step in front of their star, Patty Hearst. Yet many armchair terrorists like you, Stew, who now praise the SLA, in other circumstances wouldn't think of following leaders of such little experience and unproven judgement on even a minor political issue, let alone one of life and death. But the SLA were self-styled leaders of the entire liberation struggle in the United States. They spoke, threatened and killed in the name of the liberation struggle and implicated everyone on the Left in their deeds. They set up the Left for further police actions and even assassinations (how many of the underground guerrilla groups now forming are part of the police network, do you think?) And they did this all with no practical strategy for advancing the people's struggle.

Even in their deaths the SLA showed their contempt (or was it just unconsciousness) towards the "People" whom they never ceased to invoke. They had bearded the fascist lion in his den. They knew it would be a massacre and they decided to fight. And what territory did they pick for their last stand? The Hearst Mansion? Beverly Hills? They picked the black ghetto. Only a miracle prevented them, uninvited and unsupported as they were, from causing the deaths of whole families in the area. Is that your idea of a revolutionary, Stew, a Che Guevara? Someone who leads the fascist army into the homes of the defenseless poor and hopes the ensuing massacre will make the people bitter?

There is an expression in the black community called "murder mouthing" which we think aptly describes the political supporters of the SLA. Murder mouthing is when you say something, which if it is acted upon, will get someone killed for it. It is murder mouthing when you incite people to warfare, but you don't really believe it yourself. It is murder mouthing when you confuse strategy with despair. And it is murder mouthing when you hype the SLA as some kind of revolutionary example for other tormented and guilt-ridden militants to follow.

The Editors

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"The fuel crisis will require some sacrifice by all Americans."

—RICHARD NIXON

After-tax oil profits—1973
(millions of dollars)

	First nine months of 1973	Percentage increase over 1972
Exxon	1,656	59.4
Mobil	571	38.3
Texaco	839	34.9
Gulf	570	60.1
Standard Calif.	560	39.7
Standard Indiana	390	32.2
Shell	253	40.6
Continental	153	23.4
Atlantic-Richfield	178	36.9
Total all nine	5,170	**45.2**
All oil companies	52,500	**30.3**

Well, almost all.

Tired of paying for the oil industry's mistakes? Do something about it. Write your elected representatives and insist on an energy policy based on public need, not corporate greed.

ENERGY SHOULD BE EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Prepared by Public Interest Communications

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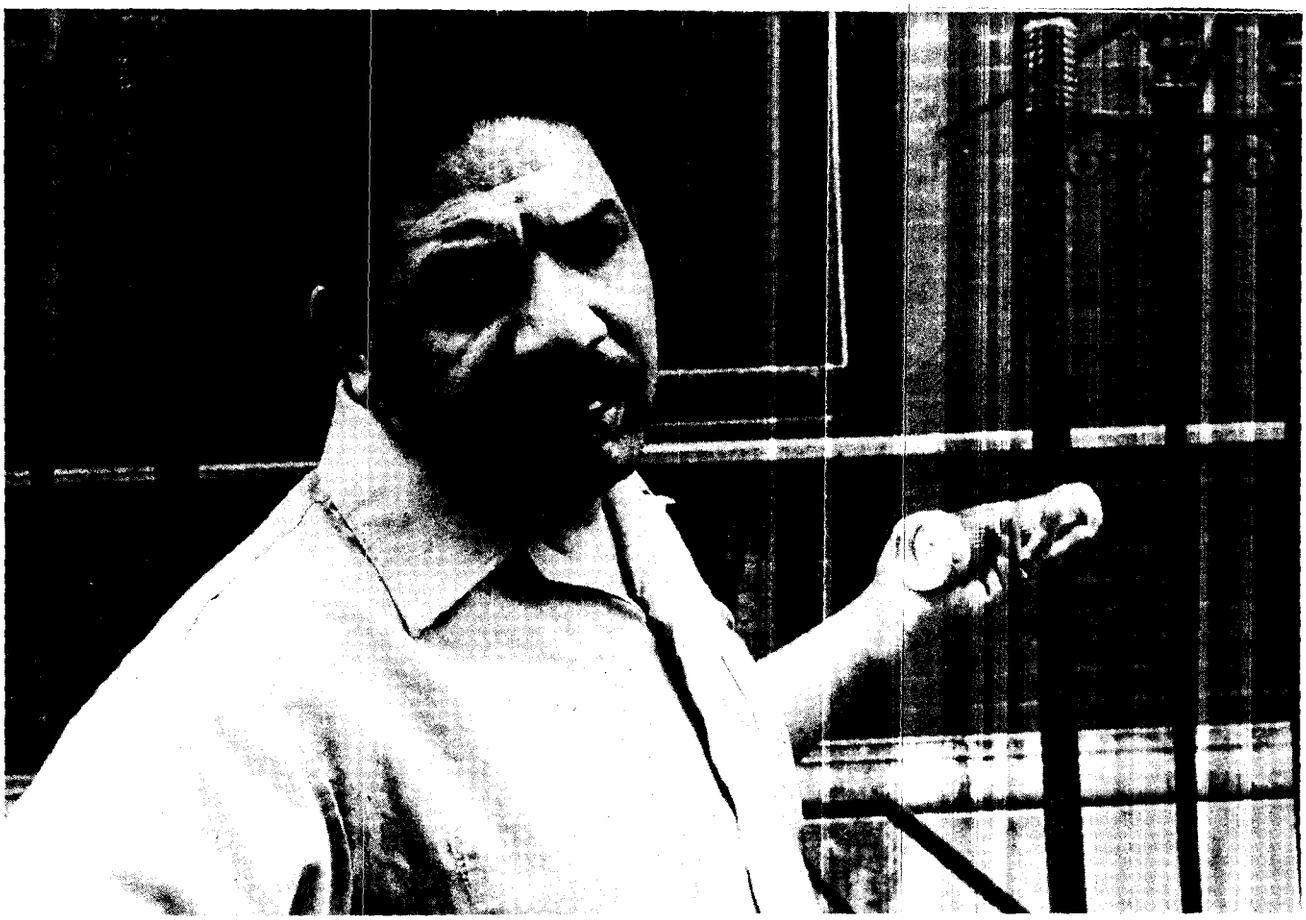

Harlem Housing:

The New Homesteaders

One day in May of 1973, Ralph Perez, manager of the apartment building at 540 West 146th Street, quietly removed his name from the mailbox in the hallway and stepped quietly into the street. He left without a word to any of his tenants. As abandonment of a building is known in the real estate trade, Perez had "walked." "Hell yes, I walked," he admitted frankly in an interview. "I tried my best to keep the place going, but I kept losing money—there was nothing else I could do. I'm not angry at the tenants. But I been harassed and harassed, so I pulled out. I'm sick over it." Perez died two days after the interview.

From the outside, 540 West 146th Street is a solid old six-story, brick-front house, with a couple of nice tin gargoyles up top and some fancy marble work in the lobby. Like a lot of Harlem housing, it was built at the turn of the century for a Manhattan bourgeoisie seeking a style and status they couldn't find downtown and couldn't afford in the snobby Upper East Side. One could never tell from looking at the outside that this place has been allowed to deteriorate so badly that it is nearly uninhabitable, or that it is the object of one of the most tenacious rent strikes in history.

The strike on 146th Street began in 1964 for the usual reasons. The toilets were falling through the floors. Water was cascading down three floors from leaks in the roof. The boiler coughed so badly that it died one December night and the heat went off for the rest of the winter. The elevator motor broke down and a kid nearly got killed. The plumbing stacks cracked. Stagnant water and garbage made a little lagoon down in the basement. Just the usual reasons.

But rent strikes don't cause landlords to abandon their buildings, as anyone who cared to delve into the records of a Harlem apartment house like the one on 146th Street would quickly find out. If anything, rent strikes and tenant complaints merely provide an excuse for a landlord to abandon once he's gotten all the money he can from a building. Housing abandonment isn't a last, desperate act, like suicide. It's a process, and a long one at that.

No one knows for certain how many landlords walk every year in Harlem. The City doesn't keep statistics like that and the landlords don't call in to let you know. There is a legal definition of abandonment in New York: a "vacant and unsealed" building. There were 8,000 of these in 1968, and there have been 5,000 more each year in Manhattan since then. The National Urban League said in a 1973 study that "reliable analysts have reported that upwards of 105,000 housing units were abandoned in New York City between 1960 and 1970." If pushed, New York's Housing and Development Administration (HDA) estimates there have been 50,000

by Jonathan Maslow

Giraldo Garcia, president of tenants committee

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apartments abandoned every year since 1970. A better estimate would be close to 100,000 because most buildings abandoned by their landlords aren't vacant and unsealed, but lived-in and unbearable, like the house on 146th Street.

The roots of the abandonment syndrome go back to World War II, when blacks started leaving the South in droves, looking for work in war industries. During the war, the construction industry was in suspended animation because of the difficulties in obtaining materials. Increased demand for housing due to black migration was met by shortages of new construction, a classic inflationary situation. Rents soared until 1943, when the Federal Government declared a housing emergency and froze all rents. Responsibility for rent controls passed from the Feds to New York State after the war, but the State didn't want it, so rent control authority was handed on to the city.

Under the old Rent Control Law, landlords were guaranteed an 8½ percent return on an inflated formula of assessed valuation, and were allowed to pass on maintenance costs in rent hikes. Even before they resorted to financial manipulations, this formula resulted in average returns of closer to 15 percent. Any landlord who didn't make his 8½ percent could apply to the Rent Control Administration as a "hardship" case, and rents would be raised.

Real estate was the first industry given a guaranteed profit. But in the years following the end of the war, city neighborhoods were in racial transition and suburban development was booming because of VA loans and FHA-insured mortgages. Stable investors followed the white man's dollar and got out of places like Harlem.

[THE ART OF MILKING]

The original owner of 540 West 146th Street was a real estate man named Lawrence A. Wein. He owned about 30 Harlem buildings—including the King Avon Hotel and the old Rangeley Arms on 137th Street—all of which he later parleyed into ownership of the Empire State Building, which he holds to this day. In the early 1950s, Wein called in three men who worked for him—an attorney named Murray Rayburn (who was also Wein's son-in-law), a black real estate agent named Alfred Johnson, and a plumber, Ralph Perez. He told them he was getting out of Harlem and they could buy his properties if they wanted to. They wanted to and did.

Perez probably didn't know it, but working for Rayburn and Johnson wasn't going to be like the old days, when he would fix the pipes and call in his afternoon report to Mr. Wein's office. Rayburn and Johnson were getting ready to do what's called "milking" in the real estate trade. Milking consists of extracting the greatest amount of profits from a building in the shortest time possible. It is accomplished in a number of stages, all of them successfully done by the owners of 540 West 146th Street.

The first and most obvious stage is not putting any money into maintenance or repairs—letting the building go to hell physically. The second is using a fast depreciation plan on taxes, so that instead of spreading out depreciation deductions over 30 years, the entire value of the property is written off income taxes in 10 years, or 5. The third way is using "wash sales"—paper exchanges of ownership between landlord corporations and professional speculators: borrowing money with buildings as security. New York City Title and Deed records show that attorney Rayburn hocked his 146th Street building 20 times since he bought it from his father-in-law, raising unknown amounts of cash.

The later stages of milking are more gritty. You stop paying fines for building code violations and let the infractions mount up at the City's Code Violations Legal Department until the lawyers downtown have, as in the case of 146th Street, an inch-thick file of unanswered summonses covering more than 700 infractions. When you stop paying property taxes, you've got three years to go, because after three years the City can seize the property for tax arrears and put it up for auction. But in the meantime, property tax costs are figured into the rents. And the landlord pockets them—$29,410.10 worth of back taxes in the case of the 146th Street house. Then you default on your mortgage payments and, finally, you get ready to bail out.

[PROFIT AND DECAY]

Some of the tenants who have been around 146th Street nearly all of their adult lives mark the change in ownership from Wein to Rayburn as the time when the building started to nosedive. Lena Richardson, a bank teller who has lived on the eighth floor for 30 years and is founder of the tenants' committee, says the house started to go downhill about 15 or 20 years ago.

"It started with little problems in the plumbing," she recalls. "Perez would come and patch things up, but every apartment you'd go into had to be fixed. Then Perez stopped coming. He'd send over someone else, some kind of handyman, not a licensed plumber. That handyman had his own way of working, I'll tell you. He would wind friction tape around where a pipe was broken, then put newspapers all around the tape, and wedge a coca cola bottle between the wall and the newspapers to hold the damn thing together. So it really became kind of useless to call up and complain."

On the first floor, John W. Harris, who owns a candy store around the corner and who has lived in the building for 34 years, says his troubles began with the landlord even earlier. "I had Rayburn in court in 1952, when he first took over the building. The heat went off in the winter and I had to take my aunt and my little daughter over to a hotel to stay. I went into court to get back the hotel fees for the time the heat was off, but the judge told me that since I hadn't written to Rayburn informing him beforehand that he should have the heating system checked, I didn't have any grounds to make the charge."

Giraldo Garcia, a worker at Bergdorf Goodman's department store and president of the tenants' committee, dates the trouble from 1961, but that was the first year he lived in the building. "My wife was really the first to complain," he said. "Since we live on the first floor, we got fumes and smoke all the time coming up from the boiler. It did no good for my wife to wash anything because as soon as she hung it out to dry, it got black again. Then we got a leak behind the sink in the kitchen. Water worked its way through the wall

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until the plaster fell out, then the smoke poured through the hole. It was black all the time."

By late 1964, leaks in the roof allowed water to enter the top floor. It filtered down, rotting away one ceiling after another until the bathroom floors above were in danger of collapsing. The water cracked tiles around toilets, and the bowls sank into the floor. It was taking your life into your hands to use the john in those days. When the toilets fell in, they pulled the water tanks out from the walls, splitting the pipes. Tenants had to keep their bathtubs filled with water and pour some into the toilet when they needed to flush. In late 1964, five of them stopped paying rent.

It was a spontaneous and angry action, unconnected to the great Harlem rent strikes of 1964 and 1965, when housing organizer Jesse Gray led more than 100,000 tenants out. The result of the great Harlem strikes was that the New York State Legislature hastened to invent "Title VII-A Proceedings," legalizing and taming wildcat rent strikes. The result of the strike at 146th Street was that the tenants got eviction notices from the City, and had to pay up or get out.

In the next few years, however, the situation for the tenants at 146th Street--and for tenants all over Harlem--began to deteriorate faster. Landlords were running scared. They survived the mass rent strike with only minor wounds, but now Lyndon Johnson was going to alleviate the very housing shortage that kept them in business. And he was going to do it with the public housing they'd fought against for years. With help from the Great Society, over 400,000 apartments were added to New York City's housing stock by 1969 (though most were middle-income apartments).

To make matters worse for landlords, the white exodus to the suburbs in the Fifties was being followed in the Sixties by the flight of private housing capital. In bank board rooms and mortgage association offices, lenders drew lines around poor neighborhoods (it came to be known as "red-lining") and refused to throw good money after bad in those areas. Savings and Loan Associations had their regulations changed so that they no longer were required to invest in local mortgages. The S&L's, originally chartered to help solve working-class problems in poor city neighborhoods, were taking local ghetto deposits and sending the money to the suburbs.

Red-lining may have put many marginal building owners out of business, but not the professional slumlords: they still had friends at Chase Manhattan. And it gave them plenty of abandoned buildings to point to in the following years, when real estate interests mounted a concerted attack to get rid of rent controls once and for all. The central landlord argument was that rent controls, rising maintenance costs, and hard banking policies were making it impossible for them to make ends meet, forcing them to abandon.

The landlords got what they wanted after a stiff fight. In 1970, the City passed a Maximum Base Rent Law (MBR), allowing 7½ percent rent increases where need was indicated. "Need" was proved by feeding all the various business costs for a landlord into a computer in the Virgin Islands, and coming out with a figure showing the landlord's minimal money requirements. Since real estate books are not subject to audit, landlords submitted their own data to the computer; 74,000 New York apartments now fall under MBR.

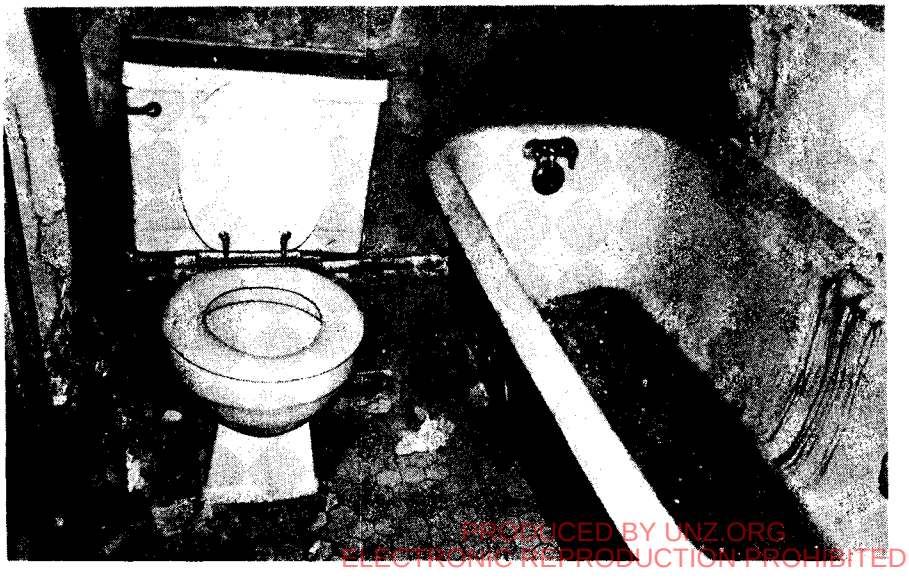
In 1971 the landlords enjoyed an even greater victory. The New York State Legislature, under the strong arm of Governor Nelson Rockefeller--who had for years talked fondly about his private dream of rehabilitating Harlem --passed the Vacancy Decontrol Law. It provided for unlimited rent increases once an apartment was vacated. For tenants living in rent-controlled apartments in Harlem and other poor neighborhoods, that has meant maintenance cutbacks, harassment, and even, in some cases, threats of violence to force them out, so that apartments could fall under the Vacancy Decontrol. Since 1971, 250,000 apartments have been vacated in Manhattan; the resulting rent increases have made it virtually impossible to find an inexpensive place to live.

[ON STRIKE]

At 146th Street, the MBR law sent rents up, on average, from $91 to $115. Some of the tenants paid Perez. A few paid Rayburn (Johnson, the other partner, had died in the meantime). The rest of the tenants continued to withhold their rents on and off, according to how bad the monthly situation was. The steam had left the original rent strike, but it was not long in returning after the MBR increases. The tenants were paying more money for even fewer services. In 1972, Mrs. Richardson on the eighth floor started to organize the tenants for another rent strike.

"First we called the Housing and Development Administration," she said. "That went on for two months without result. The Commissioner down there did meet with Perez, and made him promise to take out a loan to make the improvements. But Perez had no power to promise anything because he didn't own the place. Rayburn owned it, and he said he wasn't going to put any money into it."

By May, Perez had found his way into a City home improvement loan of $50,000. Under a home improvement loan, the City extends money to the landlord and he transfers the debt to his tenants. The HDA then sent out letters to the tenants, warning them



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that eviction notices would be issued if they withheld their rents, because the landlord needed the money to make repairs. Six tenants complied, but the 28 tenants Mrs. Richardson had organized went on strike in May 1972. They instructed their lawyer to tell the Housing and Development Authority that they refused to pay another dime until repairs and maintenance were guaranteed in writing.

There was one negotiating session to end the strike. It took place at the local HDA headquarters on 125th Street; present were Rayburn, Perez, the tenants' steering committee, their lawyer, a building inspector, and an official from the Maintenance and Repairs Department. The housing inspector began by presenting a 22-page list of building code violations. Rayburn angrily said it was a lie, and that he'd rather turn the building over to the tenants than make any repairs. The tenants' attorney asked Rayburn to put that statement in writing. The landlord refused, however, and that ended the meeting, the only effort to conciliate the strike.

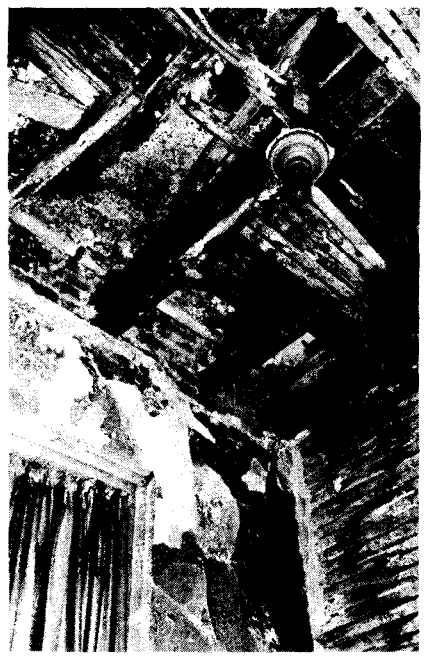
From that time until now, the tenants on 146th Street have been out on strike, and in contrast to previous times, they are well organized. They have opened their own bank account, collected rents each month, and managed the building very nicely by themselves. They have hired their own contractor, who has put on a new roof, repaired the boiler, and is working on the plumbing and bathroom problems. The tenants' committee has also rented out vacated apartments with no reference to Vacancy Decontrol; the only requirement is that new tenants join the committee. More importantly, the tenants do not feel isolated. They have affiliated with the Metropolitan Council on Housing, the City's most militant and effective tenants' union, which is coordinating and organizing hundreds of rent strikes in Harlem and other New York communities.

[THE NEXT STEP]

As in most cases with ghetto buildings, tenant organization and growing City involvement precipitated the final step of abandonment at 146th Street. It would have happened anyway. It was just a matter of time. Perez is dead and Rayburn claims not to be the owner. But landlords leave behind them a trail of legal and financial detritus, which complicates the future for abandoned buildings. According to the tenants' committee's attorney, Carol Ule, the legality of the tenant takeover is being questioned. Perez's estate, she says, is suing the tenants for two years back rent. The tenants, in reply, are suing the estate for damages incurred by the failure to repair and maintain the building. The claims may cancel each other out, or seem so inconsequential that the judge will throw the case out of court.

At the same time, there are two outstanding mortgages on the property, one in Perez's name (money he probably raised to buy the title from Rayburn), and one in the name of Rayburn's front corporation, which was conveniently dissolved. The banks won't foreclose because they don't want, as one bank official recently put it, "the obloquy of ownership in the present climate." What can a bank do with a disintegrating Harlem apartment house but find another slumlord to let it fall over into the street? One of the mortgages is held by the Empire State Savings Bank. The mortgage manager there, Harold Howes, asserted that "we'll probably just forget about the mortgage and let the bank take a loss." He said banks don't object to tenants buying up their mortgages, but they feel more comfortable if a foundation or a church secures the loan.

On the other hand, Rayburn—although claiming to have been out of the building for two years—is negotiating with the City for the tenants to buy the building from him. His asking price is $125,000. The tenants would have to sell their children into slavery to raise that kind of money. The City has offered to take the tenants into a low-income co-op program set up by the former administration of Mayor John Lindsay. Under this plan, the City lends the tenants money to buy up the mortgages and make their own repairs. Then they are tied to a 30-year commitment to repay the City for a building that a landlord has milked for years without putting in one cent. If Rayburn should then pay up his back taxes, he would have a legal case for reclaiming his building. Needless to say, the tenants have rejected the low-income co-op program.



The overriding question for the future is whether tenants must pay for past landlord crimes. Probably the best solution, and one suggested by the Metropolitan Council on Housing, is for the City to seize abandoned buildings for nonpayment of taxes, and operate them as public housing—a proposal which the City has recently rejected. Others advocate a policy in which the City would hire the tenants themselves to manage the properties. For it seems clear that if Harlem is going to be held and rebuilt, it will be done by the people who live and work there.

Jonathan Maslow is a free-lance writer based on the East Coast.

Photographs by Abby Robinson

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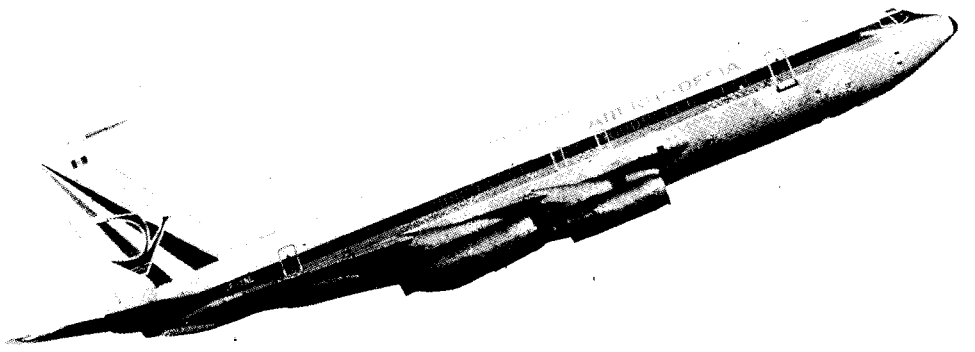

The Friendly Skies of Air Rhodesia

by Bruce Oudes

Renton Cowley commutes daily from Portchester to 535 Fifth Avenue, Manhattan, where he takes the elevator to the 20th floor office of Air Rhodesia. The office that Cowley runs is not listed in building directory; an elevator operator is there to screen unfamiliar visitors. Once on the 20th floor, Cowley is protected by a locked door, an intercom, and closed circuit television system, installed in 1972 after robbers—black Americans regarded as having political as well as pecuniary motives—trussed him up with venetian blind cords late one afternoon and stuffed his mouth with his own socks.

Air Rhodesia's offices may now be physically secure, but Renton Cowley's problems are not exactly over. There is the matter of a disloyal employee named Gerd Stamnes—disloyal, that is, to the country her boss has represented for the past several years. For it turns out that the activities of Air Rhodesia are not entirely within the law, and Gerd Stamnes has had the bad taste to blow the whistle.

Stamnes had come to work for Cowley in the fall of 1970, referred by an employment agency. When her prospective boss asked her political views on Rhodesia, Stamnes says she made it clear she did not especially agree with Rhodesian policy. She was generally aware of the constitutional rebellion five years earlier in that Southern African territory, in which a white minority declared independence from Great Britain to rule a black population 20 times its size. But she was relatively apolitical in those days, and enthusiastic about an airlines industry job where she could enjoy trans-Atlantic travel at employee rates. She took the position, never dreaming that the office was involved in anything illegal. The next three years were a real political education.

When she was hired, Gerd Stamnes didn't realize that the 20th floor office was the only one maintained by Air Rhodesia anywhere outside of Southern Africa. After minerals exports, tourism was—and is—Rhodesia's largest source of foreign exchange. And the United States remains the largest supplier of tourists to Rhodesia outside of South Africa. To Rhodesia, visiting white tourists are not only a source of revenue; they are a target for political persuasion. If the West—meaning especially the U.S.—would only "understand," then Rhodesia would be likely to survive.

Rhodesia's problem is that its government is, in the eyes of the United Nations, an outlaw. When the white minority government declared its independence in 1965, Great Britain was unwilling to intervene militarily. Instead, under the pressure of world opinion, Britain asked the Security Council to impose the gravest provisions of the U.N. Charter—those of Chapter VII—to use peaceful, multilateral economic pressure to persuade the White settler regime in Salisbury to speed progress toward majority African rule in Rhodesia, before the Africans organized to seize power by violent means.

It hasn't worked out that way. To be sure, White Rhodesia is worried about its African guerrillas, about the threat from Mozambique, and about the fact that its government has not even been recognized diplomatically by South Africa. And Rhodesia is also worried that in taking the white rebellion to the Security Council, Britain has given China and the Soviet Union a veto over any constitutional settlement reached between London and Salisbury.

Rhodesia, however, is certainly not worried about the sanctions themselves. They may cause some inconveniences, such as the need to falsify bills of lading and certificates of origin, but overall foreign trade is well above pre-sanctions levels and the need for self-sufficiency has spurred diversification of the economy.

The international community has been persistently unwilling to admit publicly the way Rhodesia has been able to conduct its international business with aplomb, enduring only the most occasional annoyance because of sanctions. While most Scandinavian, black African, and Communist states have joined Britain in attempting to maintain those sanctions approved by the Security Council, violations by the rest of the U.N.—mostly the industrialized nations of the West, and especially the United States—have become so routine over such an extended period that it strains credulity to believe that Humpty Dumpty could be made whole again.

In order to implement its three key actions on Rhodesia—Resolutions 232 of 1966, 253 of 1968, and 277 of 1970—the Security Council constituted itself into a committee of the whole (the Sanctions Committee) which meets privately nearly once a week to consider evidence of sanctions violations—presented by Britain and, occasionally, by other sources. The Committee's response to this evidence is to send diplomatic notes requesting an explanation from the governments reportedly breaking sanctions. Those who choose to respond invariably have

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an excuse.

Absent from the Sanctions Committee's work is any sense of urgency or excitement; this boredom is communicated admirably in the Committee's increasingly thick annual reports, which do little of value other than to provide a partial, but well-documented, profile of Rhodesian economic growth. Attempts to reform the operation are invariably diluted. And informed sources say that anything that transpires in these closed meetings finds its way almost immediately to the Rhodesians. Rhodesia, it seems, knows far more about the U.N.'s classified operations than the U.N. knows about the Rhodesians.

American travel agents on tour in Rhodesia

[NOTES OF A DOUBLE AGENT]

In 1972, Gerd Stamnes began quietly feeding the United Nations Security Council information about Air Rhodesia. While she was aware of the widespread violation of sanctions by at least half the U.N. member states, she also was concerned that she might find herself prosecuted as a sanctions violator by a future U.S. Administration. After all, U.S. law provides for fines and even jail sentences for sanctions violations. Going to the U.N. was one way for her to establish good faith towards sanctions adherence at a time when the Administration in Washington could not be counted on to enforce U.S. law.

For two years, Gerd Stamnes led the life of an inadvertent double agent, telling U.N. delegates about Rhodesia's clandestine activities in the United States. But as the months passed she began to believe the Security Council was incapable of doing much with the data she furnished. Repeatedly, her information seemed to emerge from U.N. deliberations in garbled form. And as time passed, she became concerned that Rhodesia's friends on the Security Council were quietly passing on the details of supposedly secret meetings.

Early this March, with the climate for law enforcement in Post-Watergate Washington at least somewhat improved, she turned over everything that seemed relevant--more than 1,000 documents--to U.S. authorities, and then quit her job. She did so without any clear certainty that justice would be done. In fact in late February, a visiting Rhodesian tour operator named Robin Fynn told her about meeting Attorney General William Saxbe on February 22 at a safari conference in Reno, Nevada. Fynn said Saxbe (who had favored the Rhodesian regime as a Senator) had told him Rhodesia is "far more democratic" than the states to the north of it and therefore he should "hang in there" because the Administration in Washington was doing "everything possible to rectify the situation." Saxbe's office later denied the Attorney General had met a Rhodesian while in Reno to address the gathering, but Stamnes can't imagine why Fynn would have invented such a conversation. And when she reported Saxbe's alleged comments to John Hooper, a Rhodesian official in Washington, Hooper was not at all surprised. "That's what Stans told us . . . That's what they all keep telling us," Hooper said to her.

Gerd Stamnes had little reason for optimism in the weeks following the decision to tell all to the U.S. authorities. She was interviewed perfunctorily by Treasury Department officials, who seemed about as anxious to get to the bottom of Rhodesia's activities in the U.S. as President Nixon had been in 1972 to uncover the truth behind the Watergate break-in. Stanley Sommerfield, Treasury's chief investigator on Rhodesia sanction violations, dismissed the documents as "not terribly, terribly significant."

The documents Gerd Stamnes had submitted to the U.S. government pointed to a wide range of infractions: including Renton Cowley's failure to get a license for importing funds from, and exporting goods to, Rhodesia; and his withholding of information from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service when applying for a permanent resident visa. But Sommerfield of the Treasury Department did not seem too concerned about the license requirements he is charged with enforcing, observing that "It is not terribly significant that people go through the motions of getting a license or not." And as for visa irregularities, Cowley--like most Rhodesians who want to visit or live in the U.S.--has little to worry about. Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, has time and again proven himself a protector of Rhodesians in the U.S. And despite Security Council Resolution 253 (theoretically supported by the U.S.), which *requires* all U.N. members to bar Rhodesians "likely to further or encourage the unlawful actions" of the white minority regime, the U.S. government conducts routine consular business with the Rhodesian office in Washington, D.C. (This contradicts official

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S/P/J5 23rd April, 1971

Mr. Charles A. Waugaman
Operations Manager,
Groups and FIT's
5820 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, Calif. 90036

Dear Chuck,

Re: Mr. & Mrs. Harry Johnson
& FIT/CH/[illegible]

Many thanks indeed for forwarding us your cheque for U.S.$15.50 in full settlement of our invoice no. ZH 3037.

I am not sure whether it has been brought to your notice earlier, but unfortunately we have difficulties in cashing cheques from the United States which mention "Salisbury" or "Rhodesia".

I am, therefore, returning your cheque and would ask you to please be good enough to send us a replacement endorsed "United Touring Company" only.

I am so sorry to give you this extra trouble and do hope you understand.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Treves Nettelton
Tours Manager.

15th December 1971

Mr. L. Morrier
Agency & Interline Sales
United Airlines
277 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Morrier,

If it is in accordance with your company policy, I would be most grateful if you could supply Mr. M. Eyett, Director - Sales, Salisbury, with a pass or reduced transportation for travel on your services between

New York/Los Angeles/Seattle/Los Angeles/New York

for use in December this year.

This will be used in conjungtion with international travel and any assistance you are able to render would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Renton Cowley
Mangger - USA

Letters from Air Rhodesia, copied by Gerd Stamnes

U.S. recognition of British sovereignty over Rhodesia, which requires the U.S. to go through the British embassy on Rhodesian consular matters.)

[FLYING OVER SANCTIONS]

With his status as a permanent resident protected by the U.S. government, Cowley has been free to carry on his work—that of developing mutually profitable relationships between Air Rhodesia and U.S. airlines and travel agencies. The results have been spectacular: 21 U.S. airlines maintain "interline" agreements with Air Rhodesia, despite the Security Council's specific prohibition of such agreements, and despite a similar prohibition by the U.S. government (Special Federal Aviation Regulation 21).

SFAR 21 bars any "interline agreement, block booking, ticketing, or any other method of linking up" between U.S. air carriers and Air Rhodesia. Security Council Resolution 253 of 1968 orders U.N. members to require persons under their jurisdiction to "not make available . . . to any commercial . . . undertaking, including tourist enterprises, in Rhodesia any . . . financial or economic resources." The refusal of the Nixon Administration to enforce these prohibitions means literally millions of dollars a year in package tour business for Rhodesia. Of the more than 26,000 northern hemisphere visitors to Rhodesia this year on package tours, more than 16,000 originated in the United States. Many, perhaps most, fly to Johannesburg on Pan American and then, depending on the itinerary, on to Salisbury via a connecting flight on Air Rhodesia. Many travelers bring back with them wildlife trophies or other souvenirs of their visit to Rhodesia. All of this is illegal under existing U.S. sanctions law.

The Security Council, it should be pointed out, did not attempt to forbid individual travel to Rhodesia. Instead, its resolutions tried to discourage profit-making tourist travel: both to deny the regime foreign exchange and to make the visitor feel he was entering an unusual political situation. But under the guise of "freedom of travel," the restrictions have been undermined by the Nixon Administra-

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WOUNDED KNEE - THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. . . .

This young warrior at Wounded Knee dug in because the U.S. Government was trying to kill him, his mother, the rest of his family, and his friends.

The U.S. Government did kill Buddy Lamont, Frank Clearwater and Pedro Bissonette.

The U.S. Government is trying to imprison hundreds of Indians and those people who tried to assist them at Wounded Knee.

WHY?

Young Warrior at Wounded Knee 1973

Because the young warrior, his family and his friends want the promises made to their people by the U.S. Government, to be honored.

The U.S. Government's Indian policy is genocide against Indian culture, religion and lives.

Learn more of the real Wounded Knee 1973 and support the Indian struggle for freedom and defend their right to sovereignty.

This boy's mother and 200 other defendants are now on trial. In the face of three concurrent trials in three different cities, defense resources are *CRITICALLY DEPLETED*. But the fight must go on.

_____ Enclosed is $1.50 for the Wounded Knee Information booklet; 32 pages covering the basic issues and events of Wounded Knee 1973; including the 1868 treaty, the May 5th Agreement and more.

_____ Enclosed is $ _____ to help with defense costs – Monthly pledge of $ _____ .

_____ I would like information about organizing support activities in my community.

Send contributions to: Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee
Box 255, Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

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tion to the point that, for all practical purposes, they do not exist.

Piecing together Gerd Stamnes's documents with conversations with airlines industry and U.S. officials, it appears that first Pan Am, then Eastern and United Airlines, in anticipation of a U.N./U.S. ban on interline agreements with Air Rhodesia, filed interline agreements with the Civil Aeronautics Board between December 20, 1967, and June 17, 1968. Far from rescinding these agreements the Nixon Administration decided it would make no effort to uncover any subsequent agreements between U.S. air carriers and Air Rhodesia—if they were not filed with the CAB, as required by U.S. law.

By mid-1970, relationships between U.S. air carriers and Air Rhodesia were so cozy that the Rhodesians were able to lure James Gorson of the Air Transport Association (the airlines industry's trade group) on a free tour. Gorson, as director of facilitation, is responsible for ATA's relations with the U.S. government on all matters concerning customs and immigration. In discussing his junket and U.S.-Rhodesia policy Gorson recently said, "I think we still have an embargo on trade, but I think that has been modified somewhat."

In 1971, Mervyn Eyett, Air Rhodesia's deputy general manager, paid the first of several visits to the U.S. It paid off in April 1973 with Air Rhodesia's acquisition of three used Boeing 720s, purchased through a Swiss middleman, Carl Hirschmann. Air Rhodesia sought the jets to handle the growing volume of tourists from the U.S., many of whom would sense something wrong if an "independent nation" like Rhodesia didn't have jet aircraft. Eyett, who received Rhodesia's Legion of Merit award for his covert activity, frequently shuttled between Long Beach, home of Douglas, and Seattle, home of Boeing. Boeing has yet to explain why it did not take the usual aircraft industry precaution of insisting Hirschmann disclose the ultimate destination of the planes he was purchasing.

All of Eyett's travel around the U.S. was courtesy of the U.S. airlines industry. However, whenever possible, Eyett and other Air Rhodesia officials travel on United Airlines. Several United Airlines executives visited Rhodesia in the 1970-72 period, Stamnes's documents indicate. United confirms that it had several used Boeing 720s for sale during 1972 and that in the summer of that year it trained Capt. Jack Malloch, a Rhodesian aviation entrepreneur not directly associated with Air Rhodesia, in the handling of DC-8s. Malloch has been very well known to U.S. intelligence as a freebooter and sanctions buster since his involvement in the Katanga and Biafra affairs. In the summer of 1972 the Commerce Department issued to a subsidiary of the Flying Tiger Corporation a still-unexplained license to export a used DC-8 cargo aircraft to a firm Malloch was known to control. He has been using it ever since to fly Rhodesian exports to Europe.

In January 1973, United Airlines trained Air Rhodesia crews in the handling of Boeing 720s. After the Boeings turned up in Rhodesia a few weeks later, in what British papers described as Rhodesia's most spectacular sanctions-busting caper, Cowley's New York office obtained technical data from U.S. firms regarding Boeing maintenance. Cowley has also been able to buy technical data from the International Civil Aviation Organization—an agency of the United Nations.

[OUT OF THE COLD]

Gerd Stamnes's decision to come in out of the cold is one of the more important developments around the sanctions leveled against Rhodesia more than eight years ago. Her actions blow the whistle not just on Rhodesia but on the U.S. and the U.N. as well. Her actions are slowly bringing to light an aspect of U.S. foreign policy that has received little public attention in the last five years.

At issue here is not the Nixon Administration's opposition to guerrilla movements in Rhodesia and Portuguese Africa. Nor is it the fact of U.S. corporate investment in South Africa, and the cooperation of the American firms there with apartheid. It is the fact that the Nixon Administration believes in political settlements in colonial Africa which would exclude and ostracize as "extremists" the more nationalistic of the African movements. Instead of working to reconcile white and black, Nixon-era diplomacy seems only able to see guerrillas in colonial Africa as "terrorists," ignoring the central lesson that hostility toward one side in someone else's civil war only leads to involvement in support of the other side.

The Portuguese coup has given the United States a breathing spell to review where this ardently anti-guerrilla policy in Southern Africa might be leading the U.S. But the fact remains that in Rhodesia, for instance, any settlement of the white rebellion that does not include *all* black Rhodesians, including ZANU and ZAPU—the once wholly peaceful groups driven underground by the whites a decade ago and now tagged by them as "terrorists"—invariably would contain the seeds of renewed civil war. This is being demonstrated in Rhodesia, where African guerrillas have now reportedly killed more whites than died in the entire Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya.

Meanwhile, Renton Cowley is still holed up in his 20th-floor New York fortress, beginning to sound like a 19th century diplomat languishing in a fever-ridden jungle station. As he wrote in January 1974, a few weeks before Gerd Stamnes departed with her final load of documents, "This periodic harassment, resultant tension, compounded by the isolation of this post can be trying to say the least, but I am damned if I will throw in the towel yet."

If, however, Cowley does decide to throw in the towel, return to Rhodesia's sunny clime, and collect his government's Legion of Merit award, he may have some awkward moments when he meets his superiors at Air Rhodesia: Gerd Stamnes says she has some embarrassing information about how he ran the New York office.

It seems that Cowley never took to heart the importance of security, as emphasized in a 1973 memo by his superiors. As they warned, "Every endeavor would be made by Rhodesia's enemies to try to frustrate Air Rhodesia's plans and so the call to all staff was to observe the watchword—'keep quiet.'"

Bruce Oudes has spent the past four years in Washington, D.C., as a free-lance writer following the Nixon Administration's Africa policy.

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Veteran California Congressman Chester "Chet" Holifield is retiring this year, after 32 years on Capitol Hill. Although a Democrat, Holifield, whose Southern California district includes Whittier, has known Richard Nixon since they served together in Congress in the late 1940's. So it was not too surprising to find Holifield aboard the Presidential jet on its way from Washington to San Clemente on March 26, 1971. As it turned out, the ride Holifield took that day aboard Air Force One was probably the capstone of his career. For on that flight Holifield, best known as the chief Congressional guardian of the nuclear power program, convinced the President that the as-yet impractical "breeder reactor"—a nuclear power reactor that produces more plutonium than it uses—was the answer to America's future energy needs.

As Holifield tells it, he reminded Nixon that President Kennedy had put a man on the moon for $50 billion, but that Nixon could provide the U.S. with an inexhaustible source of energy for $3 billion. Nixon, always a man with one eye on the history books, liked the idea, and decided to commit the nation to a multibillion-dollar breeder reactor development plan. By June of that year, Nixon was calling the breeder "our best hope for meeting the nation's growing demand for economical clean energy."

But despite the Presidential enthusiasm, and the generous Congressional funding (thanks, again, largely to Holifield), the breeder program, and the whole U.S. nuclear power program, may be in deep trouble. The first commercial breeder reactor nearly exploded when it started up in 1966, and was finally shut down for good after continued troubles and inefficiency. A demonstration breeder, about one third the size of those envisioned for commercial use, will not be completed until 1983, at a cost of a billion dollars.

Even more damaging has been a series of revelations casting serious doubt on the safety and reliability of even the current generation of nuclear reactors. In an effort to push the breeder program, the Atomic Energy Commission has virtually ignored the hazards posed by all reactors, against the advice of many of its own scientists. And as word of the safety problems leaks out to the public, the AEC has reacted with reprisals and censorship directed against its dissident staffers.

It has become increasingly clear that the AEC's role as a partner in nuclear development with reactor manufacturers and utilities industries has destroyed its ability to function as a disinterested regulator of atomic power. A few ritual "crackdowns" on the industry, and separation of regulatory and developmental functions in the AEC, have indeed taken place. But to this day chilling stories of suppressed reports, discouraged safety programs and AEC-industry collusion continue to emerge.

Just when the utilities have finally committed large sums of capital to a nuclear reactor building program, public awareness of safety problems threatens to bring the building program to a halt. Utilities, the Nixon Administration, and reactor builders such as Westinghouse and General Electric, have seized upon the "energy crisis" as an excuse for going ahead full steam with nuclear power plants. But that may soon backfire. For the rush to build reactors was based on the assumption that America needed an infinite supply of electrical power, no matter what the price. But the reality of temporary fuel shortages and the prospect of long-term supply problems has stimulated serious thought about the possibility that energy consumption can be realistically curtailed without cutting our standard of living.

The battle over nuclear power is far from over. In fact, accelerated development of nuclear power is at the top of the Nixon Administration's energy policy agenda. But it is now apparent that there will be a large public battle over nuclear power—something no one would have suspected a few years ago.

[THE UNEXPECTED DEBATE]

During the late Forties and the Fifties, nuclear power was America's glamor technology. North American Aviation, one of the first firms to get into the reactor building business, hinted in its advertisements that electricity from the atom was not only inexhaustible, but was also subtly different and more exciting than ordinary electricity. One ad was captioned "One of the most Revolutionary Events in the 20th Century Just Happened in this Room." The ad continued, "Just a moment ago the peaceful atom started supplying the electric power that lights this room. The room looks no different than before; yet the world is far brighter as a result. For the atom has proved itself an answer to man's growing need for electric power."

Peaceful atomic power in the Fifties, like the space program in the Sixties, was hailed as the showpiece of America's technological prowess. But unlike the space program, civilian nuclear reactors were supposed to be practical. So sure were the experts that the atom could produce an endless supply of cheap electricity that debate was limited to whether this resource should be developed for private industry or by a publicly owned nuclear TVA. The Eisenhower Administration, led by AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, decided that the prize should be given to private industry.

But as soon as the glamor technology started to become a reality, a safety controversy developed. In 1957 the AEC's own Brookhaven Laboratory issued a report on the possible consequences of a major nuclear power plant accident, estimating that property damage alone would run to $7 billion for even a small reactor. The insurance industry refused to provide liability coverage for nuclear power plants, and the power industry would not build the plant without some sort of liability protection, which Congress provided with the Price-Anderson nuclear insurance act. Meanwhile, the AEC kept a tight lid on other sources of alarm.

One major problem shared by military and civilian nuclear energy programs alike is disposal of radioactive wastes. These waste products are extremely dangerous if dispersed, and remain dangerous for tens of thousands of years. In August 1958, a tank storing wastes from the Manhattan Atomic Project of World War II sprung a leak, and 35,000 gallons of radioactive material poured into the soil at the AEC's Hanford, Washington storage facility. No word of the spill reached the public until 1970. In fact, six months after the spill the manager of the Hanford works, asked at a Congressional hearing whether Hanford storage tanks had

by Tom Zeman

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had any leakage problems, replied, "We are persuaded that none has ever leaked." Since then, the tanks at Hanford have spilled more than 400,000 gallons of dangerously radioactive liquid waste.

But despite continuing problems with leaks, the AEC moved ahead with the civilian nuclear reactor program. The big break came in the mid-1960's when General Electric and Westinghouse, the companies that had designed the reactors for the nuclear submarine program, decided to invest heavily in the nuclear power reactor business. In order to create a market for reactors, the two companies sustained multimillion dollar losses on a number of fixed-price contracts, and affirmed parts replacement guarantees to utility companies worried about the long-term economic viability of nuclear power plants. After 1965, orders for the reactors accelerated. By the end of 1972, GE had built or had orders for 85 nuclear reactors, and Westinghouse had 84. John W. Simpson, president of Westinghouse's Power Systems Divson, and current president of the American Nuclear Society, estimated last year that "Between now and the year 2000, the potential return to Westinghouse, just assuming it maintains its present share of the nuclear reactor market, could be $300 billion."

By the late Sixties, a powerful coalition in favor of nuclear energy had assembled, including the AEC; the two dominant electrical equipment companies, GE and Westinghouse; the oil industry, which had invested heavily in uranium resources; the utilities; and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, dominated by Chet Holifield. In the face of such a coalition, lone voices such as that of former AEC Chairman David E. Lilienthal, who warned that nuclear electrical power had proved itself too dangerous and too expensive to warrant further development, were easily ignored.

But within the last five years, two controversies have developed which raise questions about whether nuclear reactors will *ever* be a safe, efficient source of electrical energy. In the course of these debates, enough has been revealed about the AEC's role in discouraging research into safety problems and covering up reports of reactor safety hazards, to permanently destroy the Commission's reputation as regulator of the atomic energy program. Ironically, both controversies—one about so-called "background radiation" regularly released into the environment by nuclear power plants, and the other about the effectiveness of the plants' emergency safety systems—grew out of research conducted by scientists working for the AEC.

[BLUEPRINTS FOR CATASTROPHE]

In October 1969, two scientists from the AEC's laboratories in Livermore, Calif., told an engineers conference in San Francisco that if the average exposure to radiation by the U.S. population reached the allowable average dose set by the AEC, "there would, in time, be an excess of 32,000 cases of fatal cancer plus leukemia per year, and this would occur year after year." The cancer estimate given by the scientists, Dr. John Gofman and Dr. Arthur Tamplin, was 10 to 20 times higher than the figures previously reported by the AEC.

The AEC responded to the Gofman-Tamplin findings with an attack on both the scientists and their estimates. Gofman—an associate director of the AEC's Lawrence Radiation Laboratory and a distinguished biomedical researcher—was difficult to attack, but Tamplin, less well-known, was an easier target. In December 1969, all but one of Tamplin's 12 staff assistants were taken away from him. When Tamplin submitted to the AEC (at his director's request) a planned speech that was critical of nuclear power, an AEC censor crossed out almost all of it; Tamplin gave the full speech anyway.

Unable to make any headway within the AEC, Gofman and Tamplin took the case to Congressman Chet Holifield; Holifield rebuffed them, citing the same AEC estimates they were attempting to challenge. But the Gofman-Tamplin case was so meticulously constructed, and the original AEC guidelines had been so arbitrarily drawn, that the AEC had to make some concessions. About two years ago, it recommended (but did not make mandatory) that the maximum allowable radiation *inside* of a nuclear plant be reduced a hundred-fold. Unfortunately, the maximum allowable radiation dose for the general public—the main concern of Gofman and Tamplin—remains unchanged.

In the summer of 1973, the debate over radiation emission standards flared up again, this time within the Nixon Administration, when the Environmental Protection Agency proposed limits on power plant emissions much lower than those allowed by AEC regulations. The EPA charged that the AEC's radiation standards did not account for the long-term impact of radiation from long-lived nuclear particles emitted from power plants. The AEC denied this, and charged that the EPA's guidelines were "unworkable." And in December 1973, Roy Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, revoked the EPA's higher standards.

However since early 1972, the debate over "background radiation" releases has been overshadowed by a more frightening controversy over the Emergency Core Cooling System (ECCS), a vital back-up system that could some day be the only thing standing between reactor failure and catastrophe. A typical nuclear reactor contains about 40,000 fuel rods made up of uranium pellets clad in metal tubes. While the heat-producing chain reaction is taking place, the uranium heats up to thousands of degrees. The uranium and the metal rods are prevented from melting by a liquid coolant pumped through the core, and which in turn heats up the steam boiler that drives turbine generators. If a rupture occurred in the primary cooling system, the chain reaction itself could be stopped by inserting a control rod. But there are hot fuel wastes within the reactor core that continue to emit radiation and great amounts of heat. The Emergency Core Cooling System must flood the core within *seconds* to prevent it from melting down into an uncontrollable mass, burning through the reactor and escaping into the environment. Such an accident could, according to the AEC's own estimates, cause tens of thousands of deaths.

In 1970, Daniel Ford, a young economist then working at Harvard, decided to study the economics of nuclear reactors. In the course of his research he came across AEC documents indicating that all was not well with the ECCS. Perplexed, he approached MIT physicist Dr. Henry Ken-

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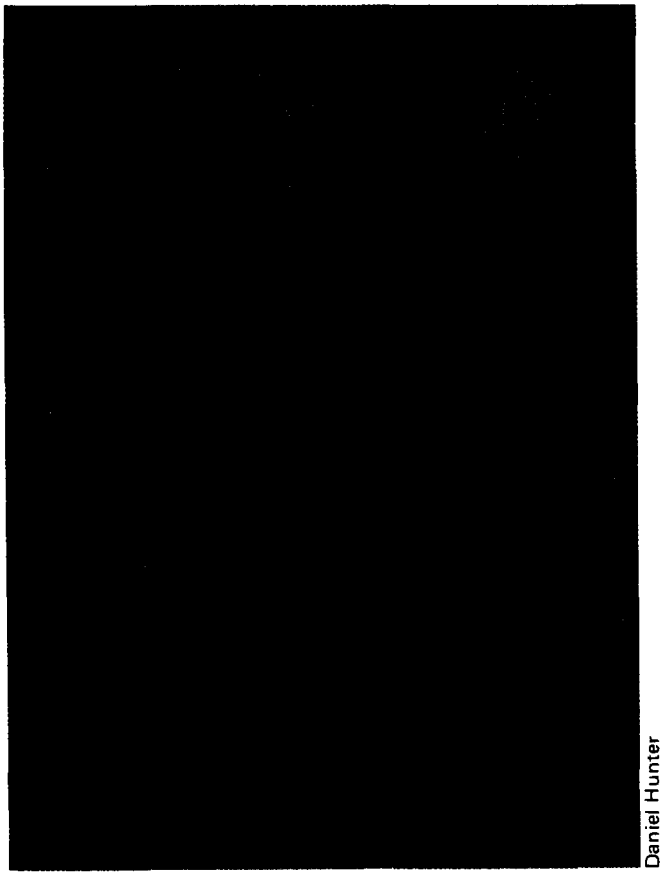
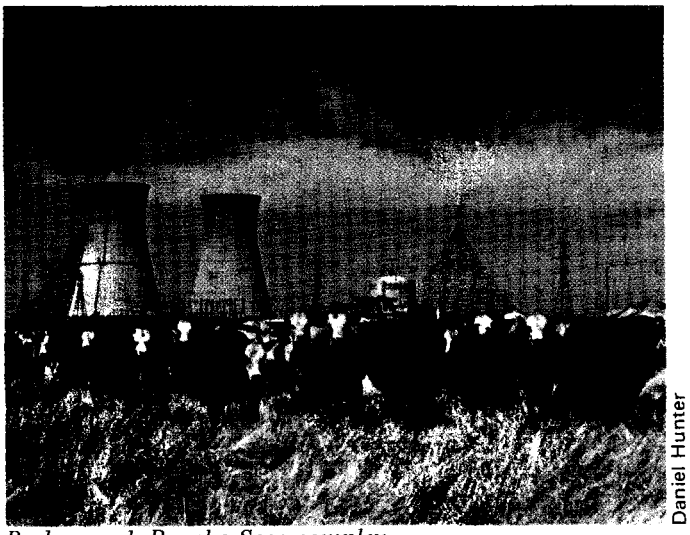


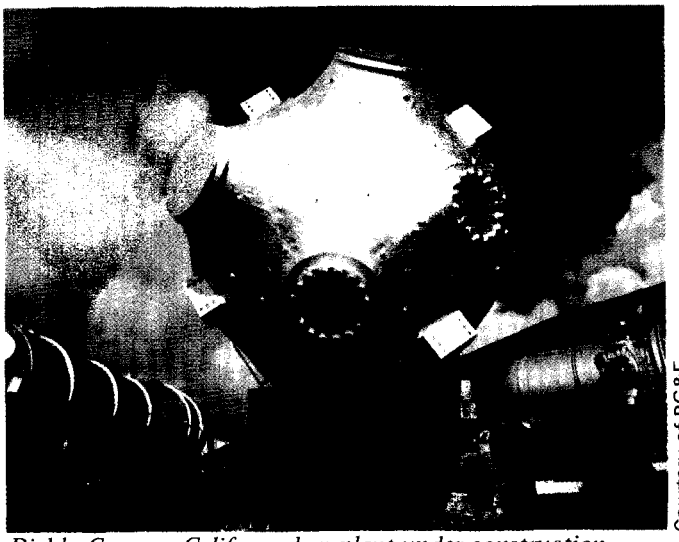
Daniel Hunter

Cooling tower, Rancho Seco nuclear power plant, Calif.



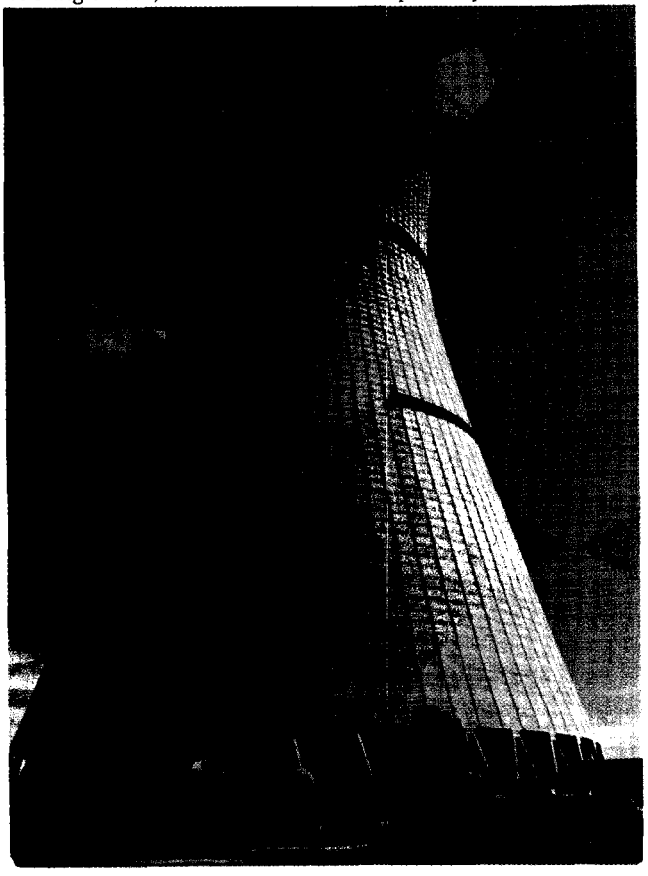
Daniel Hunter

Background: Rancho Seco complex

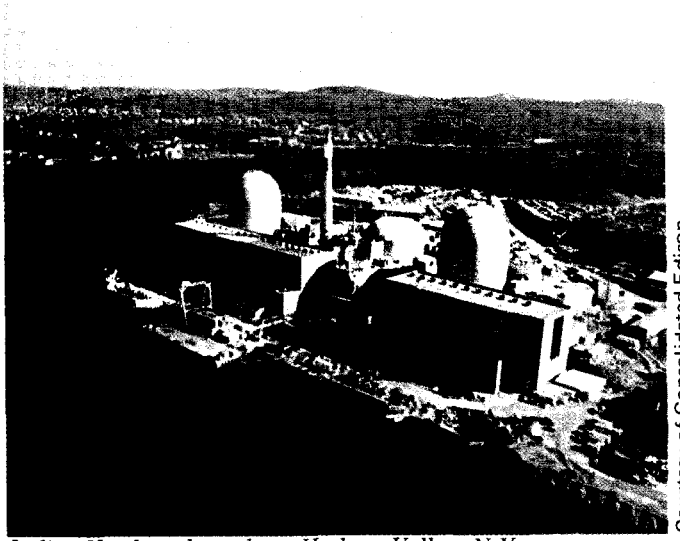


Courtesy of PG&E

Diablo Canyon, Calif., nuclear plant under construction



Daniel Hunter



Courtesy of Consolidated Edison

Indian Head nuclear plant, Hudson Valley, N.Y.

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dall, who was active in the Union of Concerned Scientists. After some investigation, including visits to AEC labs, Kendall and Ford found startling evidence that the ECCS was not reliable, and that the AEC was hiding that fact. They published their findings in July 1971, and raised the ECCS issue at a power plant license hearing. Soon groups all over the country were bringing up the ECCS issue in reactor hearings.

Both the AEC and the "intervenors," as those who challenged plant licensings were called, wanted a showdown on the issue. So in January 1972, the AEC began a series of public hearings on the ECCS in Bethesda, Maryland. The intervenors, lead by Kendall, Ford, and lawyer Myron Cherry, had an uphill fight against the AEC and various reactor manufacturers taking part in the hearings. They were denied the power of subpoena or "discovery" procedures. Ford's testimony was limited on the grounds that he wasn't an expert. But the intervenors used the Freedom of Information Act to pry information from the AEC. And what was more important, massive amounts of material were leaked to them by dissident AEC scientists. In the middle of the hearing, the AEC called its own secret meeting of staff experts to reconsider their position on the ECCS and reactor safety. And by the time the hearing concluded, well over a year after it began, it had become apparent that the entire AEC reactor safety program had been in a state of paralysis since the mid-Sixties.

[SAFETY SECOND]

A key figure in the AEC's strange approach to reactor safety was Milton Shaw, Director of the AEC's Division of Reactor Development and Technology from 1963 through the period of the ECCS hearings. A former protege of Admiral Hyman Rickover, Shaw was an advocate of the breeder reactor, and was determined to push the development of the breeder the same way that Rickover had pushed the development of the nuclear submarine fleet. Shaw's admirers portray him as a "perfectionist" constantly pressuring the reactor manufacturers to improve the quality of their equipment. He had good reason to worry about shoddiness: AEC files are replete with cases of malfunctioning valves, leaks, and the like. But in the course of stressing quality of construction, Shaw's concern for back-up safety devices, especially the emergency core cooling system, became secondary. In the words of a favorable article in *Fortune*, "Shaw believes that if a reactor is built properly in the first place, there's little reason to worry about pipe breaks, lost coolant, and all the subsequent messy events"

It should not be forgotten that those "messy events" could conceivably include the death of more Americans than were lost in the Vietnam War.

Under Shaw's jurisdiction, the AEC's National Reactor Testing Station—a key facility for developing commercial reactor safety standards—had contracted out major projects to companies with an investment in building and marketing reactors. Aerojet Nuclear, which had its own floundering reactor program, got the job of managing the testing station. Then Westinghouse and General Electric—the two biggest reactors builders—were charged with testing fuel rods. The rods' ability to withstand heat is crucial to the operation of the Emergency Core Cooling System: if the rods swell or break in the moments between the loss of primary coolant and the inflow of the emergency coolant, it could block the channel into which the coolant must flow.

Certainly Westinghouse and GE are interested in operating safely. But they are also deeply interested in proceeding full speed with commercial reactor operations; and evidence of serious flaws in the fuel rods might have brought operations to a premature halt. Curiously, none of the GE tests used the proper combination of materials, heat and pressure necessary to simulate actual reactor conditions; while the Westinghouse test added *unheated* rods to the fuel rod test, producing temperatures lower than would be found in a real or operating reactor.

Meanwhile, scientists at the AEC's facilities in Idaho, and at Oak Ridge, began to suspect that Shaw and his superiors simply did not want to hear about safety problems, particularly problems with the ECCS. They even complained that between 1968 and 1971, Shaw's Division of Reactor Development and Technology (RDT) used for breeder development funds earmarked for reactor safety. One researcher at Idaho complained "The more we got into this the more it became apparent that RDT was very unhappy with all this. The problems we were raising were upsetting their cozy relationship with the [reactor] vendors and utilities, whose support they need for the breeder." An administrator at Idaho complained that whenever he sent a proposal for a safety research project to Shaw, Shaw would pass it on to the reactor vendors for comment. "In the end," he concluded, "RDT chooses to identify with the industry, not the regulatory staff."

Shaw was at war with his own safety staff. Three highly regarded managers of water-reactor safety programs at the Idaho facility had been fired when they kept insisting that more safety data was urgently needed. Staff members complained about "slanted" results from the GE and Westinghouse rod tests. In February 1970 a reactor safety program plan was issued by AEC and industry scientists. The plan outlined 139 unsettled safety questions and designated 44 of them (in the document's emphasis) as "very urgent." The plan identified "all of the factors affecting ECCS effectiveness" as "the most urgent problem in the safety program."

Then in the autumn of 1970, six tests of the ECCS took place in a 9-inch scale model of a reactor core. All six times, the emergency core cooling system failed to operate. The computer analyses, which until that time (and to this day) provided the only evidence that the ECCS would work, completely failed to predict those results.

Panic stricken, the AEC called a meeting of officials from the Idaho and Oak Ridge labs and reactor manufacturers. A task force was set up under Dr. Stephen Hanauer to review the ECCS program, which in turn commissioned a detailed state-of-the-art report on the Emergency Core Cooling System. The report stated that in several areas, the ability to predict what would happen in case of an accidental coolant loss was "beyond the present capability of engineering science." Dr. Morris Rosen, then chief of the Sys-

(Continued on page 51)

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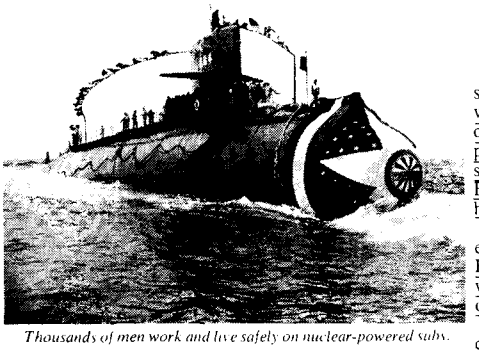
WHY NUCLEAR POWER IS THE SOLUTION TO THE ENERGY PROBLEM.



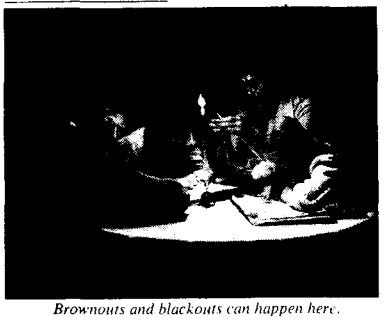
Thousands of men work and live safely on nuclear-powered subs.

1 The electric energy problem here in California is simply a matter of oil and natural gas shortages. The problem is going to plague us for some time to come, unless other forms of energy are used. The solution is to use energy wisely and to build more nuclear power plants. Nuclear plants are safe. They are practical. They are economical. They are environmentally clean. But they take time to build—about ten years.

2 There's no mystery about nuclear power plants. 3 There are 44 operating in the United States: more than that among other nations of the world. 4 There are more than 100 nuclear-powered ships in the U.S. Navy; even more in other fleets. 5 The nuclear industry has hundreds of reactor years of successful operating experience. The technology is proven.

Some people have questions about nuclear power. Some people give incorrect answers to those questions.

6 We at PG&E have had long experience with nuclear plants. We believe firmly in them. 7 So do other utilities, world-wide, both government-owned and investor-owned. And so does the overwhelming majority of the scientific community.



Brownouts and blackouts can happen here.

NUCLEAR POWER AND THE FUEL SHORTAGE

At present most of PG&E's steam-electric power plants burn scarce and very expensive low-sulfur oil to generate electricity. 8 We will have to buy about 20 million barrels this year and 35 million next year to meet our customers' electric energy needs. Our two-unit Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant, now under construction in San Luis Obispo County, will displace a need for an additional 24 million barrels of oil every year in the future.

Delays in construction schedules of these and other nuclear units—delays, for a variety of reasons, over which utilities generally have little control—have had much to do with bringing about today's electric energy problems in California.

While nuclear power plants cannot solve the problem immediately, they can in time. As more come into service, they will free up 9 large amounts of oil, significantly alleviating the aggravating long-range fuel shortage—gasoline and all.

NUCLEAR POWER AND SAFETY

10 The safety record of commercial nuclear power plants is unmatched in industrial history. 11 Safety systems and their back-up systems function efficiently. 12 There have been no nuclear-caused deaths. Not even a significant injury. (For comparison, about 54,000 Americans are killed every year in auto accidents; 3,000 die choking on food; 160 are killed by lightning.)

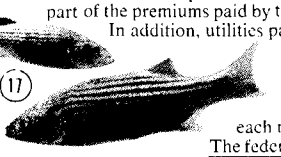
Actually, fissionable nuclear fuel for power plants is very dilute—so dilute that it's 13 impossible to create an atomic explosion in a nuclear reactor.

With all the safeguards that are built into each nuclear power plant, 14 the chance of a major accident is about one in a million.

NUCLEAR WASTE. WHAT HAPPENS TO IT?

When nuclear fuel is used, nuclear waste is created. 15 But more than 95 per cent of the original fuel is recycled for re-use. The 16 remaining waste is small—so small that such waste from a large nuclear unit operating for 30 years could be contained in a space no larger than a two-car garage. The waste is radioactive; but is treated as such. Very carefully. Safety first.

Used fuel is sealed in heavily-shielded, leak-tight casks and shipped to a facility which specializes in nuclear fuel reprocessing. Every safety precaution is taken to insure that no leakage occurs. Shipping and handling are carried out under strict regulations of the AEC and the U.S. Department of Transportation. After processing, the residual waste will be solidified and placed in secure, long-term storage 18 under rigid government control.



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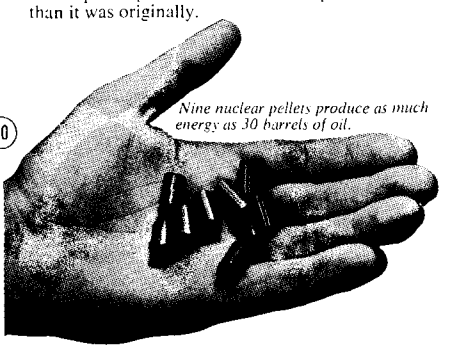
NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS AND MARINE LIFE

Some people have voiced concern because some power plants discharge warm water back into natural water bodies. These power plants—whether nuclear or fossil-fueled—use cooling water in steam condensers. 19 In a nuclear plant the cooling water is only about 19° warmer when returned to its source, and otherwise is harmless. Where the water source is large enough and cold enough to receive and assimilate it, like the Pacific Ocean, it has no significant adverse effect on marine life. The only appreciable change is that in the immediate water discharge area the balance between warm water species and cold water species of marine life may shift in favor of those liking warmer water. In fact, after 24 years of scientific study and many more years of operating experience, it is clearly established that marine life near PG&E power plants tends to be *more* plentiful than it was originally.



Nine nuclear pellets produce as much energy as 30 barrels of oil.

20

NUCLEAR POWER– CLEAN, ECONOMICAL

For both environmental and economic reasons, nuclear power is the solution to the electrical energy problem.

Most hydroelectric power resources are already developed. Fossil-fueled steam electric plants consume scarce and increasingly costly oil and natural gas. Barring technological breakthroughs, geothermal energy can meet 21 only a small part of future power needs. Fusion power is decades away. And other possible sources of energy, 22 such as solar, tidal and wind power, are in experimental stages of development, and the latter two may never become 23 practical for large-scale use. Coal can supply some help in California over the short run. 24 But nuclear energy is the power source which has arrived.

Nuclear power is economical. For example, 25 the electricity produced at PG&E's Humboldt Bay Nuclear Power Plant for $2.00 would cost $17.20 at a plant burning low-sulfur oil, at today's fuel prices.

Moreover, nuclear power generation is clean. Unlike burned fuels, 26 it releases no combustion products into the environment.

NUCLEAR POWER AND INSURANCE

Some people say that private insurance companies won't cover a nuclear power plant. That's false. Private companies provide $110 million worth of liability insurance for each nuclear power reactor location. There have been no claims against nuclear power reactors. In fact, the insurance companies have been refunding part of the premiums paid by the utilities.

In addition, utilities pay the federal government for indemnity insurance coverage of $450 million for each reactor location.

The federal indemnity program was created by Congress in 1957 (Price-Anderson Act) to help encourage development of a nuclear power industry in the U.S. 27 It has been good business for the taxpayers. And it gives the public greater protection than separate homeowner insurance policies could provide. That's one of the reasons why your homeowner policies have a nuclear exclusion clause.

The government has collected millions in indemnity payments from utilities—about $90,000 a year per large reactor—and has never paid out one cent. No claim has ever been filed.

NUCLEAR POWER AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

One of the big PG&E nuclear units at Diablo Canyon is planned for service next year, and the other unit in 1976. But it will take about ten years to build additional nuclear capacity—including the time it takes to find and acquire suitable sites and obtain clearances and approvals from more than 30 governmental and public agencies.

Every year of delay exposes all of us to shortages and higher rates, and further drains our diminishing fossil fuel resources.

The energy problem simply must be solved, and nuclear power will go a long way toward solving it. Electrical energy is essential to everybody, and especially to the young people who will be forming families and needing 28 jobs. We don't intend to relax in our efforts to provide adequate and reliable service for all our customers in the future, just as we have provided it in the past. You can help now by 29 conserving energy at home and on the job.

If you or anyone you know would like more information on nuclear power, PG&E will be pleased to provide it. Just write: PG&E Nuclear Information, 77 Beale Street, San Francisco, California 94106.

PG and E

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HOW ONE UTILITY HYPES NUCLEAR POWER

Northern California's Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the second largest private utility in the United States, has been running this advertisement in newspapers all over California and in West Coast editions of Time *and* Newsweek. *It does not exactly adhere to the principle of "Truth in Advertising."*

The numbers correspond to the numbers on the ad on the facing page.

1. There is no electricity shortage in California. There were no brownouts in California even during the height of the Arab oil embargo. PG&E refuses to tell us at what percent of capacity their plants presently operate. But California's Public Utilities Commission predicts that even by 1976 Northern California's electric utilities will have about 14 percent spare capacity, *even without* PG&E's Diablo Canyon nuclear plants. The "problem" is the utilities' outlandish and self-serving projection figures of future electricity demand.

2. According to the AEC's figures for 43 of those 44 plants (one more has been licensed to operate since April), there were 51 major (12 hours or more) shutdowns in April 1974:

25 due to equipment failures
3 due to operator error
12 for maintenance or testing
8 for refueling
1 due to regulatory restriction (this plant was shut down completely by the AEC)
2 for operator training

In addition:

At least 14 plants were not operating "normally": 12 were in a "power ascension phase" which means they were still being tested, were in repair, or were being refueled; at least 2 others were completely shut down. Of those remaining plants that were operating "normally," 7 were ordered by the AEC to run at below their rated capacities for safety reasons.

3. The SS Savannah, the first nuclear merchant ship, built at a cost of $54 million, was scrapped in 1971 after being subsidized at over $4 million a year. It had been denied entry in some foreign ports because of the potentially high costs of any accident. Despite their billion dollar costs, nuclear powered submarines *do* make a certain amount of military sense since they are underwater for long periods of time and cannot store enough fossil fuel. And in case of radiation leak or mishap, the immediate danger would be limited to crew members. That's no reason to build these power plants on land, near populated areas.

4. Dr. George Weil, former chief of the AEC's Reactor Branch Division of Research, recently calculated that the nuclear power industry had 81 reactor years of actual operating experience with plants larger than experimental size (100 megawatts or more); about 47 reactor years with plants over 500 megawatts. Since many safety problems only become acute with the larger plants, which operate at much higher core temperatures, the latter figure is probably the most relevant to the 1000+ megawatt plants PG&E is presently building.

5. The AEC has only interim acceptance criteria for licensing nuclear power plants, since it acknowledges that the safety technology has not yet been proven.

6. Foreign-built plants are safer than the ones PG&E uses. Sir Alan Cottrell, former chief science advisor to the British government, complained that the U.S. designed reactors require "superhuman engineering" to operate safely.

7. PG&E's "overwhelming majority" turns out to be 44 scientists, most associated with the nuclear power industry. The 44 called the reactors "reasonably safe," but most insisted that the plants were not "scientifically proved." Several reported that they were aware of information that had been biased to make the reactors appear safer, and many asserted that the AEC had submerged safety for development. On the other hand, the prestigious international Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs issued a statement questioning the wisdom of reliance on nuclear power "owing to potentially grave and unresolved problems."

8. The huge increase in oil use is not due to burgeoning demand, but a switch from natural gas to oil in some plants.

9. PG&E's plans call for increasing rather than decreasing their use of oil, even with the nuclear plants.

10. A 1972 AEC report stated, "In the recent past, there have been a number of occurrences at reactors where human error resulted in undesirable situations. *The absence of more serious side effects is largely the result of good luck.*" [emphasis added] There were 861 "abnormal" events at nuclear reactors last year, 371 of which were potentially hazardous.

11. The most crucial back-up safety system was tested on a miniature scale model in 1970 and failed to work six out of six times. The scale test has not been repeated, and the system has never been tested on a larger scale.

12. There have been no nuclear-caused deaths at commercial plants in the course of operation in the United States. There *have* been fatalities at AEC-run nuclear power test facilities. The AEC has not until recently collected statistics on cancer deaths due to radiation doses. Uranium miners have already died of radiation-caused cancer, and a 1969 U.S. Public Health Service study concluded that between 10 and 18 percent of men who have been uranium miners would die a similar death in the next 20 years.

13. It *is* possible to create an atomic explosion in the proposed "breeder" reactor, but this is not the point. Almost any kind of explosion (say a steam explosion), or sabotage, or a melt-down can release the radioactive material in the core, which would probably be more harmful than the explosion itself.

14. A 1973 AEC task force stated, "The task force ... does not believe that the overall incident record over the past several years, give the required confidence level that the probability for such an accident is 10^{-6} (one in a million) or less per reactor-year."

15. There are presently no fuel recycling facilities available, and probably won't be until at least 1977. Meanwhile, spent fuel rods are piling up in cooling ponds outside commercial reactors. The situation is so dangerous that several industry executives suggested that power plants may have to begin shutting down soon.

16. These two garages-full would contain an amount of long-lived radiation equivalent to 30,000 Hiroshima size A-bombs.

17. "The Atomic Energy Commission has ended its investigation of a massive fish kill at the Millstone Point nuclear power complex in Waterford, Conn. without giving a specific cause of the April incident in which thousands of fish, mostly menhaden, died. Analysis of fish and water samples scrutinized by several consultants failed to provide a consensus aside from the fact that the kill was plant-oriented, an AEC spokesman said." (*New York Times,* August 16, 1972)

18. So far the AEC has no idea where to store the wastes. If adequate storage is found, government control would have to be long term and rigid enough to keep people away from the wastes for 1000 years or more.

19. All power plants produce wasted heat, but nuclear power plants produce 30 to 50 percent more waste heat per kilowatt of electricity than fossil-fueled plants.

20. Power output at 10 nuclear power plants had to be cut back last year after it was discovered that these nuclear pellets were unexpectedly densifying, greatly increasing the chances of an accident.

21. A 1972 RAND Corp. report said that if the Imperial Valley geothermal reservoir were tapped over a 15 year period, California would need no other new power plants between 1985 and 2000, even if power demand grew at 3 percent a year.

22. A National Science Foundation/ NASA study reported, "if solar development programs are successful, building heating could reach public use within five years, building cooling in five to ten years ... and electricity production in ten to fifteen years." PG&E says it takes about 10 years to build one nuclear power plant.

23. Precisely. Alternate energy sources, especially solar and wind-power, are perfect for small-scale use. Every home could generate its own, instead of buying it from PG&E.

24. Twenty-five years ago, a Presidential commission predicted that by 1975 millions of American homes could be heated by the sun. Who decided that nuclear power would "arrive" instead? Certainly not the voters or the electricity consumers.

25. According to a 1973 energy study by the Joint Economic Committee of Con-

(*Continued on page 60*)

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Powers That Be:

The NBC Documentary You Never Got to See

by Elliot Kanter

This year, KNBC-Los Angeles was responsible for three programs which, when added to its 1969 blockbuster, "The Slow Guillotine," gave it the lead in environmental coverage, local and network. Again, they were the work of Don Widener, who took his local crew as far afield as the Baltic Sea to gather evidence. "Timetable for Disaster" was a consideration of global water pollution problems. "A Sea of Troubles" covered the unhappy lot of fishermen and fisheries on both coasts due to mercury and DDT. "Powers that Be" was a harsh, frightening look at the activities of the AEC. It went on the air despite pressure from the AEC to keep it off and impede production along the way. Although these shows were of the highest quality and formed a series which any other local station in the nation would be hardpressed to match, they seemed to be at an end: Widener's contract was not picked up.

—The Alfred I. DuPont-Columbia University Survey of Broadcast Journalism, *1971*

For more than three years, Pacific Gas and Electric, the giant power company which services much of Northern California, has suppressed a frightening television documentary on the dangers of nuclear reactors. The hour-long film, "Powers that Be," produced by award-winning producer/writer Don Widener, and narrated for a token fee by Jack Lemmon, was shown on May 17, 1971, over KNBC-TV in Los Angeles. Shortly thereafter, PG&E launched a letter-writing campaign against the film and its producer, bombarding network and government officials alike with accusations of distortion and unethical conduct. An exchange of lawsuits followed—Widener asking for a $3 million libel judgment, and PG&E seeking a permanent injunction against use of the film, as well as $6 million in damages. For its part, well before any legal action had been taken, KNBC-TV hastened to withdraw the film from its library.

With nearly $5 billion in assets, PG&E is America's second largest private power company, only a step behind New York's Consolidated Edison. And where financially shaky Con Ed has had to turn over responsibility for its latest nuclear reactor to the state of New York, PG&E has been moving forward confidently into its nuclear future. Yet its sharp reaction to "Powers that Be" suggests that PG&E's confidence is giving way to a bad case of nerves.

* * *

Producer Don Widener sees himself as an environmentalist, not as an enemy of technology. Originally a public relations man at the NBC owned and operated television station in Los Angeles, in 1969 he decided to try his hand at making documentaries on environmental issues, well before ecology had attained the status of a movement. His first effort, a grim study of air pollution called "The Slow Guillotine," was aired in 1969; acclaimed as the year's best news documentary, it won both an Emmy and the Alfred I. DuPont award.

Armed with a budget of $50,000, Widener and his crew travelled across the United States, visiting nuclear power plants in California, filming nuclear waste disposal sites in New York, Colorado, Washington and Nevada, interviewing critics of nuclear power, AEC officials, and spokesmen for the industry. The result was "Powers that

(*Continued on page 57*)

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Site of intended PG&E nuclear plant at Bodega Head, Calif.

Path of San Andreas Fault through Bodega Head

Aero Photographers

Moratorium: Taking the Initiative in California

For ten years one of the most beautiful promontories on the California coast has had a big hole in it. It is on Bodega Head, about 75 miles north of San Francisco, and about 1300 feet off the dead center line of the famous San Andreas Fault of 1906 earthquake fame. The people who dug this hole intended to put a nuclear reactor in it. It is still a hole, instead of a reactor, because a surprisingly large and vocal coalition of Northern Californians decided that they would rather not have their electricity generated in that way in that place. They got some help from other parts of the country, and generally kicked up a fuss. Strange as it seems in this day and age, it *can* be done.

Other battles have been fought in California, one reactor at a time—some won, some lost. This year, another coalition of Californians is trying to fight the whole nuclear-power thing at once. If they are able to get together the signatures of 325,000 registered voters, the California electorate will have the opportunity to say "yes" or "no" to something called the Land Use and Nuclear Power Plant Safety Act. It faces, as you might guess, massive opposition from oil companies, utility companies, and other exemplars of American free enterprise.

This exhibition of citizen power has been undertaken to combat a certain lie the utility companies, and the Atomic Energy Commission, have combined to promote—that nuclear power in its present form is safe. Those who are old enough will recall that this is the same AEC that used to tell us that there was no danger in fallout. The truth is quite simple: nuclear reactors are *always* unsafe to some degree, in about eight different ways, even if there is never a major accident.

The chance of such a major accident is indeed small (although any odds you see quoted are mere guesswork). One such accident, however, would be quite enough—it could quite easily kill every human being for a hundred miles downwind. Some AEC types say that we just have to live with this uncertainty, as we live with the dangers of earthquakes. We do not, however, set out to create the sources of earthquakes—or, for that matter, hurricanes, tornadoes, or floods.

Accidents aside, a nuclear power plant means an increase in radiation, and—without going into a great burst of science writing and repeating all the information made pub-

by Gene Marine

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lic in the 1950s--any increase in radiation means an increase in birth defects, leukemia, and in genetic mutations. This is not precisely measurable either, which leaves you with the question of how many birth defects and how many cases of leukemia are "worth it." Any use of technology demands compromise (if you have automobiles, you have automobile accidents), which *can* be more than offset by technological benefits (automobiles mean fast ambulance service that can save lives). But there's no benefit from using nuclear power, instead of some other kind, that offsets the particular, and particularly horrible, dangers that go along with it.

The problem of radioactivity and radioactive wastes you already know about, unless you have spent the last 30 years in a cave on Mambahenauhan. There is also a theft problem. You can make bombs out of the same stuff you fuel reactors with, and in fact a reactor is just an atomic bomb, only slower. For that reason alone the fuel must be transported not only with safety but also with security. About both the waste problem and the security problem, Dr. Alvin Weinberg has said that they require a "Faustian bargain." The rest of us, he says, must agree to "both a vigilance and a longevity of our social institutions that we are quite unaccustomed to."

[TAKING THE INITIATIVE]

A lot of people are concerned about nuclear power, including some physicists who really do know quite a bit about it. Among the latter is Dr. Henry Kendall, a senior professor of physics at MIT, who was out in California a few years back playing with the linear accelerator at Stanford. While here, he met a dressmaker--well, a garment manufacturer--named Alvin Duskin, who was gaining some local notoriety as a moneyed opponent of the war in Vietnam.

Duskin, whose interests are many, left the garment business in 1971 and helped to found a group called Public Interest Communications, handling advertising and public relations for a number of "cause groups," including some concerned scientists whose worries included the possible premature proliferation of nuclear power plants. Among those scientists was Duskin's friend, Henry Kendall (who is also primarily responsible for getting Ralph Nader interested in reactors; in the meantime, PIC also did press and radio work in California for Nader's various subgroups). Finally, Duskin left PIC on its own, and decided to tackle the nuclear power question full time.

With Kendall as a principal advisor, Duskin set out to involve other Californians in the issue; and because Duskin's own contacts were mostly in the San Francisco Bay Area, he took off for Los Angeles to begin his organizing (as easterners never seem to understand, Los Angeles is as far from San Francisco as Richmond, Virginia, is from New York City). Among the people with whom he got together was attorney Richard Spohn, who heads Nader's Citizens' Action group in the Los Angeles area.

After a lot of exploration, Duskin and his coterie decided that the only way to keep California from becoming a forest of nuclear power plants and a sort of uranium pushers' pilot project for the rest of the country was to write an initiative measure, collect the signatures to put it on the ballot, and campaign like hell.

Until recently in California, the initiative, originally conceived as a tool for use by the people against special interests, has been pretty much a device of those interests themselves, used when they wanted to do something too raw for the legislature to buy, but salable on false pretenses to an uninformed public. During the past several election years, however, volunteer signature collectors have been able to put a number of genuinely people-originated initiatives on the ballot, and even to pass some of them, most recently a much-ballyhooed "political reform" measure passed this June.

Approximately a year ago, Duskin and Spohn came up with a draft initiative, and quickly involved not only the "Nader people" but other Southern California groups ranging from Another Mother for Peace to the local branch of the Sierra Club to a loose alliance of church-oriented social groups. Back in the Bay Area, Duskin quickly involved the main offices of the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth, the Friends Committee on Legislation, and several consumer groups. Individual heavyweights like Dave Brower, Dave Pesonen (an attorney primarily responsible for putting together the group that stopped the Bodega Head reactor) and Joan McIntyre joined in. Attorneys and consultants in Sacramento (the state capital) and in Washington, D.C., volunteered their help, with legislative and agency staff members contributing information and talent.

Highly important information and talent. Nuclear power is not, normally, an issue to be handled on the state level; the mighty AEC, with the help of an acquiescent Congress, has a little too much power. In Minnesota, for example, a law was passed that simply set a more restrictive limit on the allowable level of radioactive emissions from power plants; the U.S. Supreme Court told Minnesota they couldn't do that--the federal government has preempted the issue of reactor safety standards, and states can no longer set their own.

Duskin, Spohn and Co. got around it by leaving the state's Health and Safety Code strictly alone, and writing a measure to amend the Government Code instead. If the state can't control emission standards directly, it *can* control land use; and that's the gimmick on which the initiative measure turns. It "finds" that nuclear plants affect "rational land use planning," and then sets a number of conditions that must be met before such a plant can be built on California land:

Insurance. At the present time, a nuclear accident is "covered," by federal law, up to $560 million, which is like buying ten bucks in comprehensive insurance on your car. You can't buy separate individual insurance on your own home to cover nuclear accidents; and forget about the poor people who might be in the way. The initiative says that a nuclear plant can't be permitted in California unless and until Congress removes that limitation, and permits "full compensation of the people and businesses of California in the event of personal injury, property damage, and economic losses resulting from escape or diversion of radioactive materials" either at the plant or in transport. If nuclear power plants are in fact as safe as their proponents

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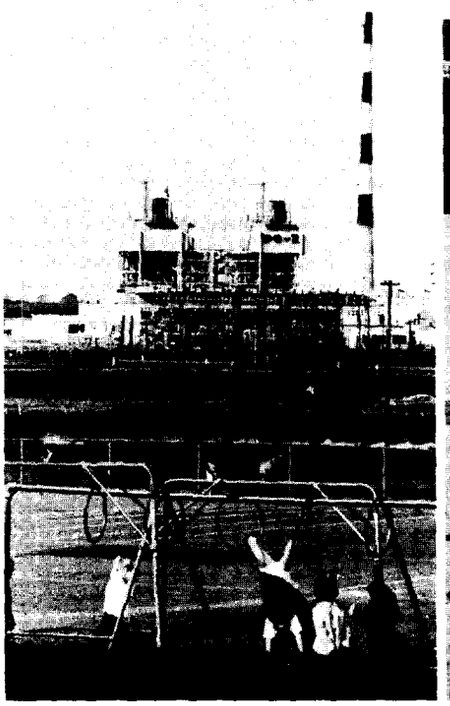
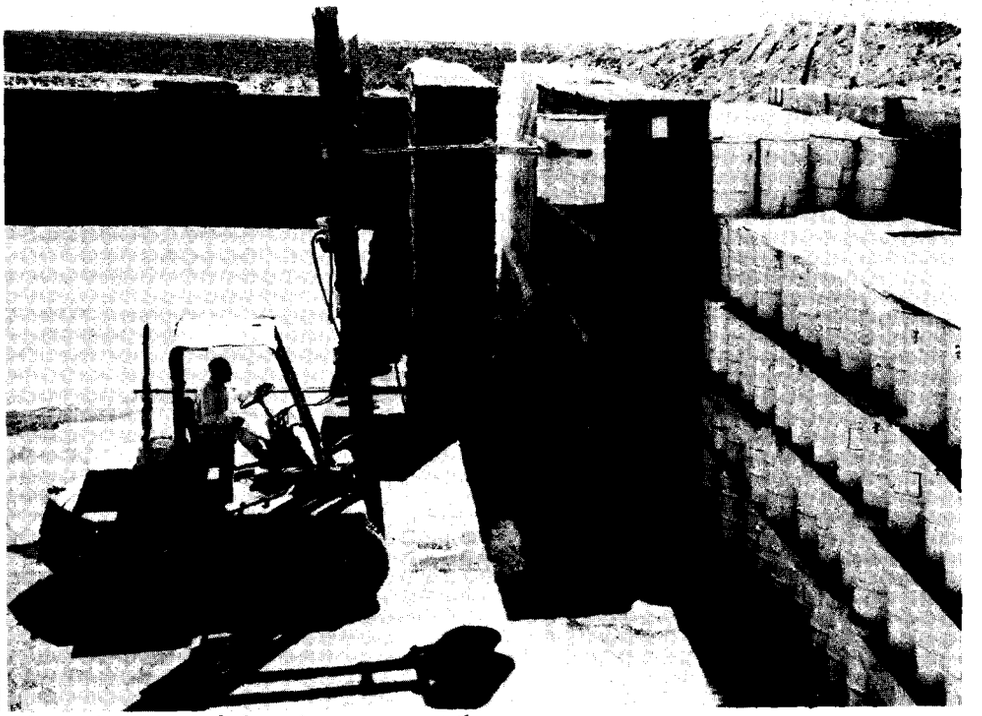


PG&E's Humboldt Bay nuclear power plant, in operation since 1963

NRTS



Open-air storage of plutonium wastes, at the National Reactor Testing Station, Idaho

claim, then there's no reason for such a paltry limitation on insurance. If the AEC and others insist on maintaining the present federal law, then maybe they don't think the plants are really all that safe after all.

Safety. The initiative provides that the effectiveness of all safety systems on a reactor must be tested on "substantially similar systems." A lot of people assume that this is already required—it seems rather obvious, after all—but it isn't. "Safety" is sometimes "demonstrated" with nothing more than a set of equations and a computer, which can of course be good enough if you're sure that every eventuality is in those equations.

Wastes. You can build a nuclear power plant, says the initiative, only if radioactive wastes "can be stored or disposed of during the period in which the waste material remains harmfully radioactive with no reasonable chance . . . of intentional or unintentional escape into the natural environment which will eventually adversely affect the land and the people of the state of California. . ." This condition, as of right now, cannot be met. Until it *can* be met, we have no business building nuclear plants anyway, but the initiative is so written that if, as of tomorrow morning, somebody suddenly comes up with a clean and workable way of neutralizing and disposing of radioactive wastes, it can be put into practice immediately (assuming that the other conditions are met).

Evacuation. Another one of those things that most people don't know is that every nuclear plant proposal includes a plan for evacuating the population from nearby areas in case of accident. Duskin *et al.* believe that these plans are deliberately kept from the rest of us, on the theory that if we knew about them, we would then recognize the real dangers of nuclear power, and possibly even rise up in anger. The initiative, therefore, specifies that all such evacuation plans become public documents, and that the governor must release them annually to news media. A further provision calls for annual review of all such plans, and includes a clause mandating popular participation in such reviews.

Approval. The state legislature, under the initiative, gets the right to approve any proposed plant that meets all the above criteria, and must do so by a two-thirds vote. The pro-initiative people like to say that the legislature, in making such a certification, will act with the advice of a scientific advisory committee. In fact, however, the wording of the initiative allows the legislature the option of acting without such a group though specific requirements are set up in case such a committee is appointed.

* * *

If you know even a little bit about nuclear reactors, you know by now that the California initiative is in effect an outright ban. To pretend otherwise would be to abandon

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any pretense at honest reporting. Congress is not going to approve unlimited insurance; reactor manufacturers (and purchasers) do not dare to permit full-systems safety tests; publicizing evacuation plans horrifies the AEC; and there is flatly no solution, as of right now, to the problem of radioactive wastes.

Nonetheless, there are people – some of them among the sponsors of the initiative – who remain convinced that nuclear power can be made safe, provided that we leave the industries and utilities involved with no choice but that between safe reactors and no reactors. It will take longer, of course; nuclear power plants, like color television sets, were obviously put "on the market," with vast public relations expenditures, long before all the bugs were out of them. But even if they can be made safe, nobody is going to do it unless forced, any more than any other big industry has ever done, from automobile manufacturers to food processors.

[WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?]

Much of the electricity in California is among the cleanest in America; it comes from generators at hydroelectric dams, which – while they certainly play hell with river ecosystems – at least do not to any significant extent pollute the air, nor tear up square miles of landscape. By now, though, all the dam sites of any genuine value have dams in them (there are a few power-dam proposals left in California, but their potential capacity is probably not worth the environmental damage involved).

The oil companies and utilities, then, will argue that, if the initiative is passed, we will be forced back on strip mining for coal and on a still greater demand on our petroleum supplies (with overtones of those gas-station lines and dependence on dirty dark-skinned blackmailing anti-Semitic Arabs). Readers of this magazine know by now about the oil-shortage gag. I will recapitulate only to the extent of saying that for now and for the next two or three hundred years, it is a political, not an ecological, problem; that oil companies own most of the coal companies *and most of the uranium sources*; and that uranium, too, is of course a fuel available only in finite amounts.

But there are some other assumptions in the argument that need examination as well. One is that *not* using nuclear energy will force us to fall back on strip mining. In fact, the largest single consumer of coal from strip mines is the Oak Ridge National Laboratory – and they use the coal in the technological process required to "enrich" uranium, and thus to make fuel for reactors!

Another assumption is that coal is, itself, inevitably the pollutant that in practice it actually is – or, in other words, the assumption is that there is no way to "clean up" coal. Technologically, that isn't true either; the only problem remaining to be licked is the problem of cost. The push for nuclear power before it's anywhere near safe is in part a push to avoid spending research money to lower the cost of cleaning up coal.

A third assumption is that American technology is the best in the world. In fact, American reactor design, at least according to a great many nuclear physicists, has given us reactors much less safe than those made in Canada, Russia and Great Britain. This, indeed, is what the nuclear power fight is really about.

What America wants to do is to export reactors. And – as with computers, as with jet planes – in order to export reactors, we must first create a convincing domestic market. The problem for American industry (and its acolytes in the AEC) is that in fact nobody wants to buy their crummy reactors. Westinghouse and General Electric are losing money in their reactor divisions like double-up losers at a crap table. And then there's Combustion Engineering, the third largest of reactor makers in the U.S., which sold no reactors at all for three years.

Combustion Engineering, when it's being fat, makes steam boilers; but on the stock market, steam boilers just aren't sexy. So with the stock at a very low price, they told customers that if they (the customers) would buy reactors, CE would guarantee to make any design changes required by the AEC, and do so without cost to the buyers. Presto! They sold seven reactors, which to them was like selling all your old shoes for a hundred bucks apiece. The stock rocketed upward. The officers of the company then sold a bunch of stock, at a large profit – and it remains to be seen what will happen when they have to make all those design changes. Government authorities not connected with the AEC are now investigating the whole operation.

A final assumption in the opponents' arguments is that energy – in this case, electricity – *must* come from a large, central source. A firm commitment to nuclear power as the "next step" in energy generation will of course keep northern and central California completely dependent on PG&E, and the rest of the state equally dependent on its various sources. Even municipally owned sources, like that in Los Angeles, develop an industry-oriented bureaucracy dedicated to its own perpetuation; preferable (on a cost basis alone) by far to PG&E, they are, nonetheless, "socialism" only by a turn-of-the-century capitalist definition.

By now, of course, the oil companies have covered themselves by moving into geothermal power, as well as into coal and uranium. Even so, geothermal power is by its very nature a method that easily lends itself to decentralization; solar power is obviously more so. Either is safer, cleaner, and potentially less expensive than nuclear power; solar power needs refinement for *cost,* unlike nuclear power, which at best needs refinement to keep it from killing people. If California voters really believe that they face an energy shortage in the near future, then their answer is not to switch to another fossil fuel and to continue to depend on one central source. Their answer is to say to hell with nuclear power, and thus to force industrial power *users* to push for the development of alternatives that can be decentralized.

So: Duskin and friends need 325,000 valid signatures of California voters. Only then can we find out whether – in a state so big that it *has* to be covered by media campaigning – rich people yelling "power shortage" will be able to stop honest people yelling "ripoff" and "danger."

Gene Marine is author of America the Raped *(Avon) and* A Male Guide to Women's Liberation *(Holt).*

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Purgatory on Wheels

The mobile home community today is not unlike the small town of yesterday–a place where people think it's good to get to know your neighbor. A place where you can take a walk with a sense of security. . . . A community like this preserves the best in American life.

–Burgess Meredith, narrating a mobile home industry film

The Nightingale-Woodley Hills trailer park is located off old U.S. 1 in Virginia, a few miles below Washington. It is hidden from the highway behind a Shakey's pizza parlor, a car wash and an old motel featuring nightly topless dancers. Rutted roads wind through the hilly park, where 500 or so vintage trailers are jammed together in an elegant exterior of tarnished metal and exposed wheels. Some perch precariously on cinder blocks. Throughout the park are signs, handlettered and printed, small but discernible: BEWARE OF THE DOG.

For the privilege of residing here, there's a $100 entrance fee, even though the used trailer is already in the park when you buy it. If you move one in, the neighbors say, it's $300 or $400. Nobody has leases. "It's one stop above the ghetto," observed one resident.

Maggie Thornton came to Woodley Hills 15 years ago from the mountains of Southwestern Virginia. A widow, she is 60 but looks much older. She lives cramped in a tiny 7-by-27 foot trailer that costs her $57.40 a month to buy. She pays another $70 to the park for "site rent," plus utilities.

Soon after she moved in two years ago, the furnace almost exploded. The toilet didn't flush. Her foot crashed through the rotten planks of the bathroom floor. Rain leaked inside through light sockets, most of them inoperative. Now, wood patches cover the rot on the bathroom floor, at the front door, by the kitchen sink. The ceiling is bare plywood.

She bought her home from AA Mobile Market, one of

by Eugene Meyer

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several trailer sales lots that dot The Richmond Highway (U.S. 1), blending into the strip of gas stations, hamburger drive-ins and fried chicken joints. "Everything we agreed to do was done," the firm's vice-president said. "She had a chance to inspect the home to see if it was good enough for her standards." At AA Mobile Market, salesman Hank Ridge says there is a 30-day guarantee, but that basically, "What you see is what you get."

Maggie Thornton's son, a carpenter, his wife and baby also live in Woodley Hills, in a 15-year-old trailer they rent for $140 a month. The three generations of Thorntons all seem trapped, like the black welfare family in the ghetto on the welfare treadmill with no way to get off. When new homes and used ones start at $40,000 with high downpayments and ten percent mortgages, when low-cost apartments are being wiped out by urban renewal and the government refuses to build subsidized housing for the Maggie Thorntons of this world, they are lucky to have *any* roof over their heads, even one that is bare plywood.

[INSECURITY ON WHEELS]

Not all trailer parks (or mobile home parks, as the industry prefers to call them) are as visibly depressing as Nightingale-Woodley Hills. But for many of the 8.5 million people living in these uniquely American structures, reality is far from the glowing industry propaganda.

Most of the nation's mobile home dwellers live in 24,000 parks. The rest live in rural areas, in the hills of Appalachia, or on prairie reservations, all generally on land they own. California and Florida are the two leading mobile home states, with 2,200 and 1,300 parks respectively in 1968. In these two states are located 245 of the 290 industry-rated top parks. Young marrieds and retired couples predominate in all parks, with retirees especially filling the Florida parks, where 77 percent of mobile home dwellers are over 65 years of age.

Promising "security" against the outside world ("24-hour uniformed security guards," advertises one Florida "retirement village"), mobile home parks deliver insecurity from within. Tenant rights in city apartments are generous compared to the tyranny inflicted on mobile home owners. The mobile home owner who finds himself arbitrarily and summarily evicted will discover virtually no spaces available elsewhere—reinforcing the reluctance to protest. In fact, a mobile home generally moves only once, from the factory to the park, where it is likely to change hands but not location.

Most mobile home parks sprouted when undeveloped land on the outer suburban landscape was cheap and plentiful. Yesterday's exurban frontier has become today's clutter. Whether as discrimination or sensible planning, county officials now restrict—through sewer moratoriums and zoning—the spread of what they consider the trailer blight.

While the lawmakers have tried to discourage new mobile home parks, they have done little to protect those already in them. In many states, mobile homes are classified as vehicles, and therefore exempt from local building and housing codes, even though studies have shown mobile homes more susceptible to damage from fires, tornados and hurricanes. According to one study, winds of 40 to 45 miles an hour will tip one over; at 70 m.p.h., "the unit explodes." And although industry spokesmen like to point out that 44 states have adopted the American National Standards Institute code for mobile home construction, critics say enforcement is minimal.

What state laws do exist are a hodge-podge. Fewer than ten states have laws regulating mobile home parks. Michigan protects owner-tenants from arbitrary and retaliatory eviction but requires no lease and allows entrance and exit fees. Florida requires that units be tied down, as hurricane protection, but allows entrance fees, reported as high as $2,500 at one Miami park. Delaware requires a written lease with a 120-day minimum, and bars retaliatory evictions. Maine bars eviction if the tenant-owner can prove the park owner wants the space merely to get entrance fees or to locate a new mobile home he just sold. Except in Michigan, where a state agency prosecutes violators, enforcement is generally left to the individual mobile home owner, who must file a civil court suit.

Such problems don't concern most Americans. And not just the general public but even the housing activists have generally ignored the problems of trailer people. The ripping-off of redneck America has never been a trendy cause, so mobile home owners largely suffer in silence. "For most people, to do otherwise would mean out and out eviction," says Lily Jarman of Ralph Nader's Center for Auto Safety. Tenant activism that has mobilized ghetto dwellers and luxury apartment tenants hasn't caught on with trailer people, Jarman says, "because of the flak that would ensue." The result is despair and resignation.

["IT'S HARD TO FIND A PLACE"]

A mile below Laurel Raceway, midway between Washington and Baltimore, Rebecca Cooke was pouring change into a soda machine next to her home, Smith's Mobile Home Court. She was barefoot and pretty with a soft, Southern voice, blond hair and the sad look of white poverty. She and her husband, at 20, two years younger than her, were refugees from Charleston, West Virginia, where jobs were as scarce as filet mignon. She was "kind of home sick," she said. But in Laurel, he had found work in a gas station, she in a carry-out, and they had high hopes.

They had one child, two years old, and another on the way. They were paying $48 a week to rent an aging trailer. It was less than ten years old, but that qualifies it as a relic among mobile homes, which deteriorate and depreciate faster than cars. "The handles are off all the doors," Rebecca Cooke said. "It looks like some folks who lived there before didn't take care of it. The rent's a little high, too. But we're just staying until we can buy furniture and save up $185 for the deposit on an apartment." It takes no clairvoyance to know that months later, Rebecca Cooke will still be at Smith's, trying to scrape up that $185 for a downpayment on the good life.

Altogether, there are some 20 trailers at Smith's, five too many according to county officials. Howard County hous-

Photographs by M. J. Vilardi

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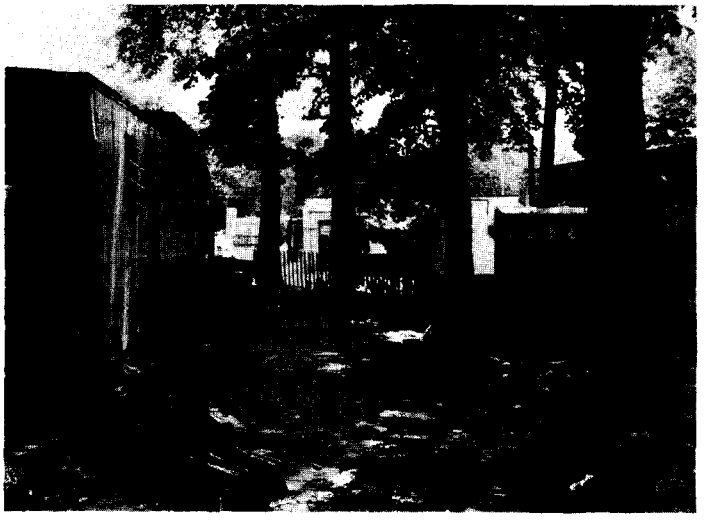

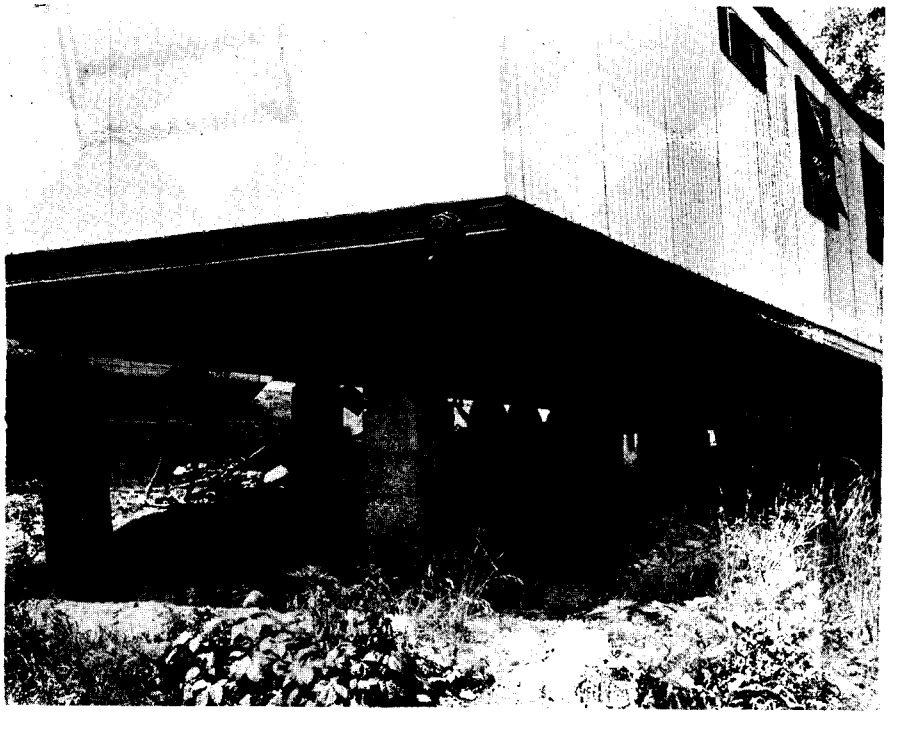

Photographs taken at Woodley Hills and Smith's trailer park

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ing chief B. Harrison Shipley was surprised to learn Smith's had any rental units, the only ones the county inspects. "They had 11 at one time," he said. "We've had problems with the way they kept them, deteriorated and unsafe."

The trailers at Smith's lack "skirting," the metal facade of permanency that some parks require to hide the wheels. Except for patches of grassless earth between and underneath the trailers, Smith's provides no play space for children. The park is separated from U.S. 1 by a wide, rocky shoulder. A metal bin sits by the road, the receptacle for everyone's trash and garbage.

Behind the trailers bordering the highway the land drops sharply into bottomland by a stream. It is here that Rebecca Cooke's trailer is located. There used to be a dozen more, parked in a circle, flooded from time to time by the rain-swollen creek. They remained there anyway, the only land at Smith's legally zoned for trailers, until the local power company acquired the property.

Families living by the creek could move to high ground or leave. John Lowell, a retired bricklayer with a grizzled, unshaven face, moved his 1968 trailer to the high ground. His rent doubled, from $60 to $120 a month. "You got to put up with the high rent," he said. "It's hard to find a place."

Helen Patterson, manager of Crane's Trailer Court in Laurel, Md., knows the mobile home industry from the inside, and she despises it. Crane's is roughly 30 years old, one of three adjacent parks that sit in the median of U.S. 1, like small islands in a raging river of cars. Helen Patterson has lived there for eight years, five as park manager. An American flag decal decorates the door of her 1971 three-bedroom mobile home. Country music from the radio fills the kitchen and living room.

Helen Patterson is outraged at most park rules, extra charges, admission fees and intimidation of residents—all of which she says are almost endemic to the industry. In most parks, she says, "If you're a friend of the manager, you can do what you want." If you're not a friend, she adds, you are often forced to accept "fantastic rules and charges: If you have four kids, you pay extra. If your mother wants to stay overnight, you pay extra. If you have a second car, a washer-dryer, you pay extra. A park restricting people like that holds them down to a lower standard of living."

At Crane's, there is a single rent of $65 a month, plus $11.45 in county tax. The rules are few. "My most stringent ones have to do with health—no trash around the trailers; you're responsible for your own kids."

To Helen Patterson, trailer people are often "a better grade of people. Some of them are old. Maybe they don't look as nice." But they are mostly honest, hard-working people "who do about the same as everyone else." At Crane's, that means construction, carpentry, high tension work, sheetmetal work, trucking.

But outsiders, Helen Patterson says, "well, they seem to sit back and look at us as if we were some kind of roving strangers, trash. It's a hangover from the days when everything in trailers was carnies. Even now, when you go to borrow money, and you put down a mobile home court as your address, they look at you and go, 'Ah-hem.' Automatically, you're inferior. They seem to take the attitude if you live in a mobile home, you can't afford anything else."

[WELCOME TO FRIENDLY VILLAGE]

Friendly Village of Dulles, 20 miles from Washington and within earshot of Dulles Airport in Virginia, is to the U.S. Route 1 trailer parks what a luxury high-rise is to red-brick housing projects. Three years old and determined to keep its fresh, unblemished look, it admits no mobile homes more than two years old. It is a socially self-contained community with its own swimming pool, tennis, volleyball and badminton courts, billiards room, clubhouse, men's and women's organizations, spaghetti dinners, classes in ceramics and knitting.

With 500 spaces on 94 treeless but well-manicured acres, Friendly Village is the largest park in the D.C. area. It separates families with kids from families without, on paved streets named after airlines. More than 20 miles from the urban core, it is patrolled nightly by an off-duty Fairfax County cop. Its residents include only a handful of blacks.

"I know all about the Route 1 parks—that's what's killing us with the garden clubs and the environmentalists," says big Bill Boisseau, 325-pound, 6-foot, 5½-inch general manager. "This is like a mansion compared to Route 1. We try to get into areas where you don't have to deal with the very low-income people." "What we're looking for is good families," adds second-in-command Dick Leisenring. "We will not allow it to become a 'trailer park.' If people don't want first class living, we have no room for them."

It costs $200 to $300 a month to live in Friendly Village. "Definitely not low-income," Leisenring says proudly. In addition to basic monthly rent—two months of it in advance—Friendly Villagers must buy skirting ($375), two sets of steps ($325), an awning ($495), and a $10,000 liability-property damage insurance policy ($175).

Eighty-three percent of the residents live in double wides, two 12-foot wide units bolted together: status in the mobile home subculture. Friendly Village gets four stars from Woodall's Mobile Home & Park Directory, the Duncan Hines of the industry. It's not the top rating, but it's close.

Many residents are either newly moved in or in some way associated with the park; 46-year-old Harry C. Zimmerman, however, was a newcomer. He and Jessie, his wife, had moved from a $42,000 home into a $20,000 Vindale, the Cadillac of mobile homes. "With a 10-year mortgage and the Good Lord, this will someday be ours," said Zimmerman, a cargo supervisor at Dulles. Richard Cotten, also with a new Vindale, had been "driven" from his site-built house by high taxes. Cotten is a professional right-winger who buys radio time and publishes a newsletter. He likes "the security in the park" and its "responsible management."

Management means "no rules people can't live within," Leisenring says. Most of them, however, need a slide rule to be understood. For Sale signs are forbidden. Undefined "immoral conduct will not be tolerated." Once a family moves in, it needs management's okay to add to its number. Kids (limit of three) and pets (limit of two) cost $5 each a month. Pets may not be over 10 inches high "at the hips, measured when the animal is standing erect, and not over 26 pounds."

Break a rule and leave for five days, and you can lose your unit and everything in it. You are subject to eviction on 30 days notice with no reason required. Three days

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notice, if you default on site rent or "other charges," or fail to abide by all "rules and regulations."

There is no residents' association here, says Boisseau's secretary, Paula Douglas, because "they haven't found it necessary." Visiting Nader's Raiders concluded, however, "If carefully guided, there is potential for getting together an underground tenants union or grievance committee." The biggest obstacle: "Eviction phobia."

For, despite its name, Friendly Village isn't always friendly.

Consider the case of Douglas Schlacter, 30-year-old auto mechanic with a wife and three kids. Schlacter bought his home through the park for $7,200 in April 1972. "Everything was made to look great," he recalls. "But after we paid for the trailer, everything changed—right from the beginning." When the new mobile home was moved to its site, the trailer hitch broke, puncturing the insulation and causing water leakage. Electrical wires were loose, plumbing defective. "They just didn't care," Schlacter says. "The salesman told my wife, 'You know, you didn't buy a Cadillac.' If you complained, that's when you had trouble. They tried to evict us."

Before he was evicted, Schlacter got a lawyer and moved out. The park bought back his defective year-old trailer, for $6,000—a loss of $2,400, including the cost of extras Schlacter had purchased.

Paula Douglas said the Schlacters' problem was "they couldn't accept the fact they bought a cheap unit. Due to the fact that he was such a troublemaker and created such a disturbance up and down the street, we tried to evict him. Our decision was that troublemakers we don't need."

[TIN-CAN SUBURBIA]

Back in 1930, a mere 1,300 trailers were built by the infant industry and nobody called them mobile homes. Most of the trailers in those days were home-made boxes on wheels, pulled by cars and used exclusively for recreation. By 1936, there were some 250,000, according to one estimate, but it was still a cottage industry. In 1937, the four major commercial producers made only 9,900.

The Depression changed the picture. Trailers no longer symbolized leisure; they symbolized unemployment. The destitute families of Middle America, refugees from the Dust Bowl and from economic forces beyond their control and comprehension, took to the road in search of work. As unwelcome at each new town as the last, they camped together on the back roads, squatting on vacant land, their camps carrying the usual load of poverty ills.

"The tin can tourist," wrote the *New York Times* in 1937, "pays less for social services than any citizen of the United States." And so it was that the early laws, many still on the books, were written to control and isolate trailer people rather than to regulate an industry. So it is that the California trailer park law, as late as 1970, prohibited squatting, camping along roads and congregating in informal campgrounds.

And so it is that the law also required one toilet, one shower, and one lavatory for each sex for every 100 lots—a requirement park owners have tried to turn into a marketing plus by making such facilities into community centers.

After World War II, recalls Vee Schulze, a 44-year-old

Cary Wolinsky/Stock Boston

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maintenance worker who lives in a camp city just outside Washington, D.C., "they popped up because there were no other living facilities. Your lower class lived in them then because they were cheap. It was the bad apple in the bushel."

Veterans on the GI bill also lived, on college campuses, in government-donated trailers recycled during the early postwar years. By 1950, however, the veterans had graduated from both college and trailer living. Their dream was a conventional house in exploding suburbia, not more of the same. That year, only 60,000 mobile homes were built—one-tenth the number built two decades later.

Today, mobile homes are a $4.5 billion a year business. In 1973, the 600,000 mobile homes accounted for about one-half of all new single family dwellings. By January 1974, although delivery of mobile homes had dropped by one-third, their share of all new single family homes had risen to 66 percent.

Five firms accounted for one-third of the mobile homes built. The largest producer, with nearly ten percent of the market, is Skyline Corporation. It is based in Elkhart, Indiana, apparently the mobile home capital of the world with 50 companies within a 26-mile radius of its city hall.

The mobile home industry in the 1960s and early 1970s has made rich men of hustlers who mostly live in stick-built houses. As the mobile home industry has expanded, so have mobile homes. Eight and ten-foot wide models are now obsolete. Twelve wides are standard, with 14-wides increasing (in states that allow such widths to be towed on highways) and double-wides gaining in popularity. Today's mobile homes are nearly three times larger than their World War II predecessors.

Mobile homes (except double wides) come furnished from the factory, starting at about $6,000. The low price tag is, of course, deceiving. For mobile homes represent, as Boston economist Carol S. Greenwald put it, "low cost housing with high cost financing." Financing is short term at high interest rates, often 12 percent and as high as 21.5 percent in Michigan. Buying a mobile home is more like buying a car than a house. The final irony is that because of the nearly $1 per mile cost in moving a unit, mobile home owners are even less mobile than most Americans.

[TIME FOR A BREAKTHROUGH]

That mobile homes have become such a major share of the American housing market is reason enough to turn the industry, through legislation, into something more than an unregulated frontier caricature. There is no excuse for the abuses that exist. It is not enough to say, as Gerald Ford did last year before a mobile home manufacturers' meeting in Washington, that "This industry sort of epitomizes the free enterprise system."

There are obvious reforms that must be enacted: long-term leases of one year or more to provide the security within that mobile home parks now promise from without; a ban on non-refundable entrance and exit fees; no rules that restrict lifestyles unless they invade the rights of others; no retaliatory evictions; no monopoly sales of mobile homes and accessories by park owners; creation of enforcement agencies to take offenders to criminal court, rather than leaving mobile home owners the more difficult, costly, and protracted route of filing their own civil suit for damages or relief.

More for reasons of regulation than taxing policy, the contradiction between mobile homes as vehicles and mobile homes as houses must be resolved, so that local officials can inspect the units before they're sold. Especially in need of closer supervision are second-hand sales. All parks should be inspected regularly to enforce health and safety standards. And as long as park owners are responsible for roads and utilities in a park, they must be made legally responsible as well, or else municipalities must provide such services.

Warranties must be extended from 90 days to one year, and service must be rendered where the mobile home is parked, not at the factory (a stipulation in some warranties which makes them worthless). There is another reason for extending the time limit. Federally-insured financing for mobile homes demands a one-year warranty. The lack of it largely explains why such programs go virtually unused, and are, in effect, meaningless. The answer is not to weaken the government requirement, but to force the industry, through legislation, to bring its warranty length into compliance.

Mobile homes will never become low-income housing until the financing period is extended, thereby reducing monthly payments. Currently, savings and loan associations are permitted to finance for 15 years, only if the mobile home is more than 14 by 68 feet, far bigger than most.

Banks are unlikely to make long-term investments in structures that literally fall apart after a few years. To build mobile homes better, the industry says, would simply jack up the price. But the total price tag alone is not what determines who can afford to buy; the monthly payment is paramount, and as long as mobile homes are financed over seven to nine years, the monthly payment for new models will remain high.

Mobile homes are low-cost housing if paid for in cash. The Nixon Administration has touted, but not begun on any large scale, a program of family housing allowances. Instead of providing monthly rent payments, the government could offer lump sums of cash for outright purchase of mobile homes. Beyond this, if former Housing Secretary George Romney's Operation Breakthrough failed to find new doors to cheaper mass-produced housing, at least one door has long been opened by the mobile home industry.

The United States has an enormous housing problem that extends beyond those we still call the Poor. Interest rates and construction costs are pricing what little new housing is being built beyond the reach of even middle-income Americans. Surely the depressing poverty of Nightingale-Woodley Hills and the 1984 double-speak of Friendly Village are not the final words on this one approach to new housing in America. In fact, the recent upsurge in mobile home construction is almost certain to continue. And as it does, the growing constituency of mobile home owners is likely to become a force that legislators cannot afford to ignore.

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Yankees, Cowboys and Watergate

Who's to blame for Watergate? The President and his White House Guard? Or, as some critics claim, a bigger, badder scapegoat behind them: the nouveau riche defense contractors, oil men, land speculators, and Syndicate gangsters of the American South and Southwest—the Cowboys?

Reactionary right-wingers, fanatics, "nigger-haters," and crude capitalists lacking in the moral sensibilities of the older Eastern money, the Cowboys are the bigwigs of the Southern rim—the part of America stretching from Bebe Rebozo's Key Biscayne through John Connally's Texas to Richard Nixon's San Clemente and C. Arnholt Smith's San Diego. They are the conspirators behind the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in the movie *Executive Action,* the money in the Military Industrial Complex, and the sponsors of the break-in at the Watergate offices of the Democratic National Committee.

As scapegoats go, the Cowboys are nearly perfect. They are defined so loosely that no one knows who's a Cowboy and who's not—from half the country to a cabal of Howard Hughes, Meyer Lansky, and the Teamsters Union. They are economic rather than "just political," which pleases the vulgar Marxists. They are the source of all evil, which pleases the vulgar Manicheans. And they are the promise that America would be okay in the hands of some equally ill-defined Eastern Establishment, the Yankees.

But the Cowboys don't exist, at least not as they are pictured. For all their oil wells and defense plants, the new money of the sunbelt has never banded together to battle Wall Street, nor have they dictated national policy—whether in Vietnam or at Watergate. It is perhaps comforting to believe that there's a "split in the ruling class." But American capitalists are not waging any regional economic war, and believing that they are only blinds us to the real dangers of repression at home and intervention abroad.

The Cowboys were born in the spring of 1968, called into being by Carl Oglesby, past president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Oglesby wanted the New Left to form "a meaningful relationship to bewildered Kennedy liberals," arguing that the personal conflict between Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson reflected a deeper, historical cleavage. Behind Kennedy were the Ivy-aristocratic, cosmopolitan, Europe-oriented, more dovish Eastern Establishment. Behind Johnson, the more racist, Asia-first war hawks of the South and Southwest. The Yankees versus the Cowboys.

Oglesby sketched out the idea in the *National Guardian* in April, but his best evidence came that summer. As he told it, he and a handful of other New Left notables had been meeting with the enemy—some high-powered executives from the biggest multinational corporations, led by Eldridge Haynes, president of Business International—a sophisticated corporate information service. The businessmen were desperately unhappy with the war in Vietnam, the threat of a new war against China, racism, poverty, and the hysterical anticommunism of American foreign policy. They feared that the national conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties would leave them with an

by Steve Weissman

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unacceptable choice between the "rotten borough politics" of Hubert Humphrey and the "obviously reactionary" stance of Richard Nixon. They favored the "more rational" candidates—Eugene McCarthy and Nelson Rockefeller.

The leftists and the businessmen continued to meet, and as the conventions approached some of the executives made "a vague proposal." They would do "whatever was possible" to help SDS stage a massive demonstration against Humphrey in Chicago and Nixon in Miami. SDS refused the offer, and left to others the leadership of the big Chicago protest. But Oglesby came away convinced that the Yankee Establishment was at war with the new-money Cowboys.

Given the probable ties between Business International and the intelligence community, Oglesby's friends could as easily have been part of a CIA conspiracy to provoke a reluctant SDS into a violent confrontation, justifying a major crackdown on the organization. But whoever the executives spoke for, they did not represent any Yankee Establishment. By summer the majority of big business leaders from all over the country were moving toward Richard Nixon, who was something less than the "obviously reactionary" anticommunist war hawk, especially in regard to China.

The businessmen backed Nixon for good reasons. From the riot in Watts in 1964 to those in Newark and Detroit in 1967, big business leaders had created summer job programs for ghetto youths, organized special funds for ghetto investment, and thrown their support to the Great Society programs of that supposed Cowboy, Lyndon Johnson. They also backed the Urban Coalition, headed by former HEW Secretary John Gardner, now of Common Cause, and committed themselves to bigger public and private spending on housing, education, and a heavily subsidized social-industrial complex. But by the middle of 1968 the same business leaders concluded that spending would spur inflation and further weaken the international standing of the dollar. Inevitably, they chose to cut back social spending, curb wages, raise unemployment, and back the presidential candidate who most favored those domestic priorities—Richard Nixon.

According to available evidence, the top businessmen did not make their decision on the basis of Vietnam policy. Few of them liked the war or its cost; most seemed content with Johnson's March 31, 1968 decision to stop the build-up of American ground forces. But only a handful, if that, were willing to "cut and run." The vast majority wanted to get out of the war without getting out of Vietnam or compromising commitments to the more important Asian dominoes. Humphrey and Nixon agreed, and after the election Nixon committed himself to a "phased withdrawal" of ground troops over a two or three year period, abandoning hope for any "purely military victory." Hardly a Cowboy's call to arms.

Oglesby continued to talk up his Yankees and Cowboys, as did a few other writers and activists around the old SDS. But only after Watergate did the idea catch hold, as everyone from Eric Sevareid of CBS to the underground weeklies scapegoated the upstarts who had stolen the White House, while maintaining "a meaningful relationship" to Eastern good guys like Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, Attorney General Elliot Richardson, and Connecticut Senator Lowell Weicker. Then came the clincher, an article in the *New York Review of Books* by Kirkpatrick Sale, author of *SDS*. An admirer of Carl Oglesby, Sale explicitly blames Watergate on Nixon's Cowboy cronies.

[WHETHER TO CO-OPT OR CRUSH?]

The more general belief that America's corporate rich had seriously split over Vietnam also continued to gain ground, especially after the Moratorium against the war on October 15, 1969. The key organizers of the nationwide protest, a Boston envelope manufacturer and some former student supporters of Senator Eugene McCarthy, were themselves neither radical nor of the ruling class. They were mostly middle-class liberals with a lot of organizing skill and the gumption to demand an immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam. But as October 15 drew near, the TV networks and several national newspapers and magazines jumped on the bandwagon, along with over 80 Senators and Congressmen, who endorsed Moratorium Day "as a positive, constructive, nonviolent means of protesting the war." Wall Street joined in with its own Moratorium, attended by such notables as former Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric of the Cravath, Swaine, and Moore law firm; John R. Lehman of the Lehman Brothers investment house; and Kennedy family financial adviser Andre Meyers of Lazard Frères.

The top-drawer turnout was impressive. But the Establishmentarians muted the Moratorium's demand for immediate withdrawal and dissociated themselves from the more radical November 13-15 Mobilization in Washington. Most of those in Congress fell back even further, supporting a resolution that applauded President Nixon's efforts to achieve "peace with Justice" in Vietnam—the first major Congressional statement on the war since the 1964 Tonkin Gulf Resolution. The "split" seemed less about Vietnam than about the peace movement—whether to co-opt it, as many of the Establishment doves wanted, or crush it, as the Nixon hawks wanted to do.

When Nixon invaded Cambodia and Ohio National Guardsmen shot four students at Kent State in the spring of 1970, more top-drawer doves turned out, including a flock of Wall Street lawyers. The protest was again anti-radical, turning a militant outpouring on the campuses and in the streets into a polite and unsuccessful effort to pass the McGovern-Hatfield antiwar amendment in the halls of Congress. But whatever the motivations, the split over Vietnam in the ruling class now seemed even deeper.

What was really happening was more interesting. The Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace (BEM), the most active of the business groups, had been around since the end of 1966, drawing support from all over the country and helping to legitimize the more radical antiwar movement. But even at the time of Cambodia, BEM's sponsors included few executives from *Fortune*'s top 500 corporations or top 50 banks. The BEMers were rich, powerful in their own communities, and very decent human beings. But, with few exceptions, they were relatively small change, with little economic interest in America's Asian dominoes and little policy-making influence within the big business community. (*Continued on page 54*)

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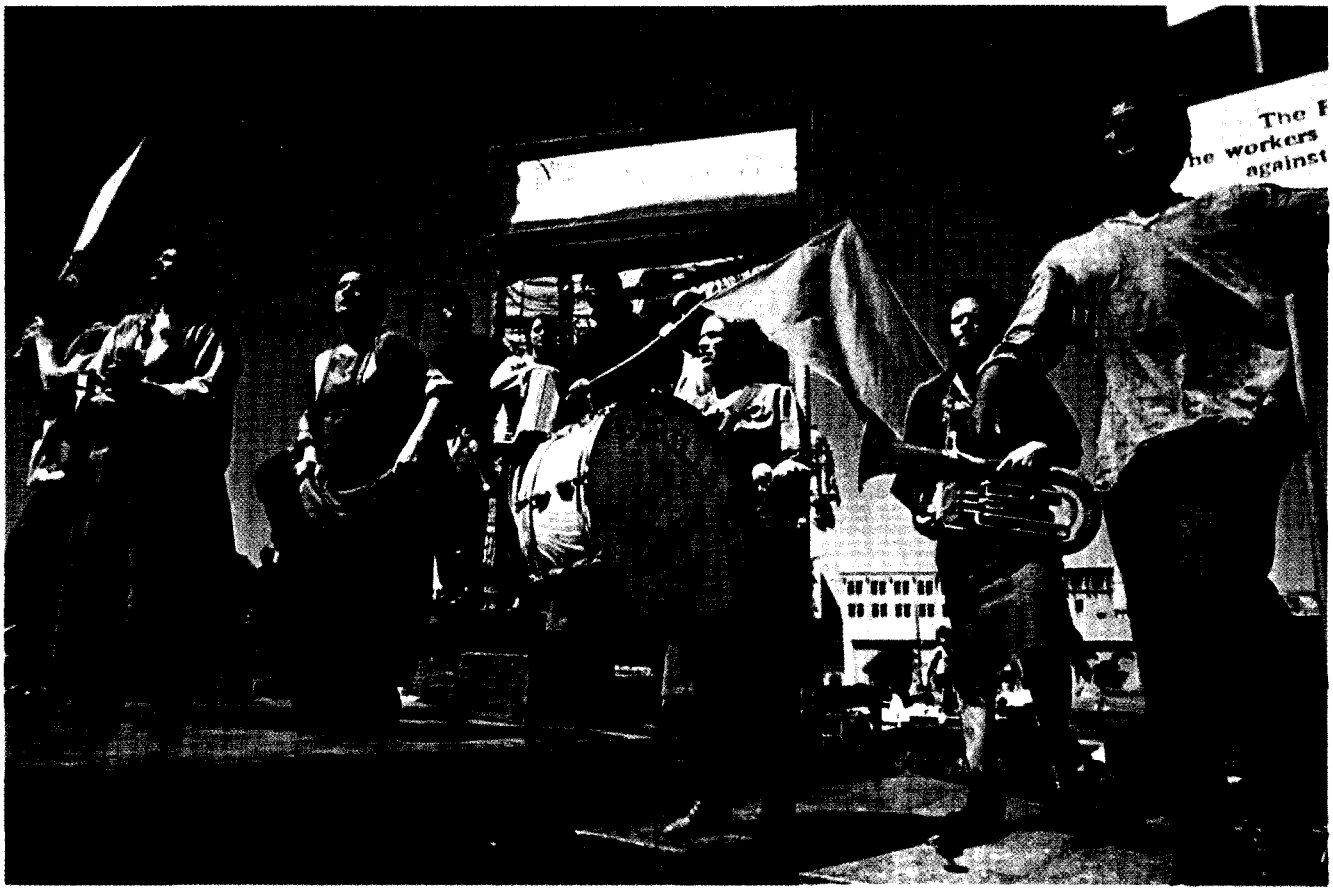

Bertolt Brecht's
"The Mother"

Bertolt Brecht wrote The Mother *in 1931. It was the last of his plays to be performed in Germany before Hitler took power. Brecht called it a "lehrstueck", a learning play; for him it represented a new, practical, and scientific approach to playmaking. It was well received by German working class audiences, but the critics panned it: "primitive," "childish," "madness."*

In America, The Mother *has fared no better. The New York Theater Union adapted the play in 1935, putting it in a naturalistic style and watering down its political intent. Brecht called the production "Dreck" and "Scheiss!" Since then, most of Brecht's other plays have enjoyed increasing popularity in universities, repertory theatres, and on and off-Broadway.* The Mother, *however, has remained taboo. Here is a scene from the play as it's being performed by The San Francisco Mime Troupe.*

"Here is our comrade, Vlassova, a good fighter.
Hardworking, clever, and reliable.
Wherever she fights, she is not alone.
Others like her fight tenaciously, reliably, cleverly
In Tver, Belfast, Phnom Penh, and Chicago
Santiago and Teheran.
All the Vlassovas of all countries; good small moles.
Unknown soldiers of the revolution,
Indispensable."

Adaptation by The San Francisco Mime Troupe

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Scene One: Introduction

"Nothing helps. I see nothing to be done."

CHORUS: See this mother. And her son. The world has made them enemies. See how the battle raging outside cannot be kept from this room. No one escapes.

ANYA VLASSOVA: What a shame to set out soup like this for my son. Only last week they took ten cents an hour out of his wages and there's nothing I can do about it. Don't I know he needs more nourishing food what with his long hours and heavy work. He is so young, hardly grown up yet. He is so different from his father. He reads these thick books; and he never did think the food was good enough for him. (*ALOUD*) Pavel? Here is your dinner. Now I want you to eat this while it's hot. You need your strength. . . .

PAVEL: Not now, Mother! I don't want any soup. Uh, I've got some reading I need to finish.

ANYA: There, you see! It won't be long now and he'll notice I'm no help to him, just a burden. He'll go his own way yet. And what am I to do? I, Anya Vlassova, the widow of a worker and the mother of a worker. Nothing helps. I see nothing to be done.

* * *

Scene Three: The factory yard

"We need more than patches, we need the whole coat"

ANYA: Well, here I am at the factory gates. Now what I have to do is get past that security guard over there. All the food is wrapped in leaflets. If they catch me I'll just say somebody must have smuggled them into my basket. Besides, I can't read anyway. Hmmm, that guard looks like a tough one. But if I gossip at him long enough, maybe he'll let me by just to get some peace and quiet. (*ALOUD*) Ahem, well I'm finally here after walking all that way. Believe you me this is the last time I do anyone a favor.

GUARD: Eh? What do you want, old girl?

ANYA: Now wouldn't you just expect that of Maria Korsunova! No more than the day before yesterday I said to her: Do anything you like but don't get wet feet! Do you think she listened to me? No. Out she went to dig potatoes and she got wet feet again. Then the very next morning she goes to feed her goats. Wet feet! What do you think of that?

GUARD: Wait a minute! What is it that you . . .

ANYA: Of course, with all of this it wasn't long before she was flat on her back. But instead of resting in bed, she goes out again at night. Naturally, it rained, and what do you imagine she got? Wet feet!

GUARD: You cannot enter without a pass. (*HE ROLLS HIS EYES IN EXASPERATION*)

ANYA: Isn't that just what I told her! But it does no good. Wet feet! Even so, I'm her best friend. We are one heart and one soul, you know, but never in your life did you see such stubbornness! I'm sick, Vlassova, I want you to go to the factory in my place and sell the food. Look here, Maria, I say, you are hoarse. But tell me, why are you so hoarse? And she says: if you are going to go on nagging me about those wet feet and if all you can think of is to blame me, then I am going to crack this cup over your thick head. Such a stubborn one!

GUARD (*WITH A GREAT SIGH*): Oh, very well. Go in before you give me a headache!

ANYA: You're perfectly right! All I'm doing is keeping you. (*WALKING THOUGH THE GRAVEL TO THE FACTORY*) Well, that wasn't so bad. Now to find a good place. (*FACTORY WHISTLE BLOWS AND WORKERS APPROACH*) Ah, it's noon and here they come for their lunch. (*ALOUD*) Pickles, tobacco, meat-pies and, uh, the paper they're wrapped in is free!

1st WORKER: Got any pickles?

ANYA: Yes, here's a pickle. . . . (*VOICE LOWERED*) Oh, don't throw away the paper. Uh, they tell me it's got some snappy sayings printed on it. (*ALOUD*) Come on, everybody! Meat pies, tobacco!

(*THE WORKERS GATHER*)

1st WORKER: Say, what's this? (*READS*) "Once we start to bargain, we're done for." You know, they're absolutely right.

2nd WORKER: Hah, hah. Those guys must be driving the police crazy.

3rd WORKER: Factory security has been tightened, too, But they still put out a new leaflet. They're a clever bunch. Nothin' stops them.

2nd WORKER: Hey, don't look now but here comes Karpov, our so-called bargaining representative.

(*WORKERS BECOME NOISY*)

KARPOV: Brothers and sisters! Brothers and sisters, we have been bargaining.

KATYA: What did you get?

KARPOV: Let me put it this way. It is not with empty hands, brothers . . . and sisters, that we come back to you.

KATYA: Did you get the ten cents?

KARPOV: We figured it out for Mr. Suklinov and we showed him that when he takes 10 cents an hour out of 800 workers wages—it comes to 250,000 dollars a year. **1st WORKER** (*CHIDING*): Now that's the money that was supposed to go into Mr. Suklinov's pocket. **2nd WORKER:** Well, we had to fight it out but we got what we wanted. We stopped him. **3rd WORKER:** That 250,000 dollars is not going into the boss's pocket.

KATYA: Did you get the ten cents back, then?

CHORUS: Yeah, what about it?

KARPOV: Now friends, you know as well as I do that the worst thing about working at this plant is the sanitary conditions.

PAVEL: We wanna know about the ten cents!

KARPOV: And, as you know, the worst hazard is that swamp outside the plant's east gate.

KATYA: So that's it! He plans to use it on the swamp!

CHORUS: Who cares about the swamp? What is this?

KARPOV: Now that swamp is a breeding ground for mosquitoes. It's a danger to your children. But that swamp can be drained—for 250,000 dollars.

CHORUS: Oh no! What are you tryin' to pull?

KARPOV: Mr. Suklinov has agreed to take on this project. He can use the land to expand the factory. . . .

CHORUS: Big deal!

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KARPOV: . . . That way, the community not only gets the swamp drained, it gets new jobs besides. And you know, what's good for the factory . . . .

KATYA: Here it comes!

KARPOV: . . . is good for us! Now listen, here's some confidential information we got from Mr. Suklinov. Our branch-plant in Georgia is closing down. Tomorrow, 700 of our brothers and sisters down there are gonna be out on the street. It's a question of the lesser evil. This country is in serious economic trouble. Anybody with eyes in his head can see that.

PAVEL: What you mean is capitalism is sick and you're the doctor. Are you telling us to take the wage cut?

KARPOV: I'm telling you that's the only choice we have.

KATYA: Fine. You can't stop the wage cut—so stop negotiating. Your swamp dime is rejected.

KARPOV: I'm warning you. Don't break off negotiations.

WORKER: I think we've got a strike!

CHORUS: No more swamp dime, no more swamp dime.

KATYA: Listen everybody! This meeting today has a very simple question to answer. Should the dime be saved or should Mr. Suklinov's swamp be drained?

CHORUS: Yeah! But what do we do?

KATYA: There's only one answer. By May first . . . that gives us a week, we've got to close down every plant where they try to cut the wages. Come on, let's get started.

CHORUS: She's right! Let's go! (*MOVING AWAY*)

KARPOV: Now how do you like that? Hey Chernikov!

WORKER: Yeah?

KARPOV: Look, you saw what happened. Should I keep on bargaining or what?

WORKER: Karpov, everybody in the factory is reading those leaflets and the police can't stop them. Besides there ain't much appeal in watchin' Suklinov blow a quarter of a million to snuff out a few mosquitoes. Nawww, that slogan about the swamp dime is all they needed.

KARPOV: Awww, so strike! Of all the hot-headed . . . They just won't listen to me. I wonder who's been stirring them up?

ANYA: Pickles, tobacco, meat pies!

KARPOV: Hey there, gimme a pickle.

ANYA: Here you are, sir.

KARPOV (*UNWRAPS PICKLE AND STARTS CHEWING*): Hmmm, hey! What's this printed on the wrapper? Aha! So it's you!

ANYA: What?

KARPOV: Don't you understand this little piece of paper means a strike.

ANYA: A strike? That's news to me!

KARPOV: Why do you hand these out?

ANYA: Why do they arrest our people?

KARPOV: A strike is a bad thing. Tomorrow morning they won't go back to work. What will it be like tomorrow night? And next week? It doesn't matter to the company whether we ever work again. But to us, it's life itself.

(*COMPANY POLICE ENTER*)

1st COP: You there, what's that you're reading? Give it here!

KARPOV: This? Yeah, well I just found this . . .

2nd COP: Where'd you get this leaflet? Talk fast, you!

KARPOV: Let go . . . you let me go.

ANYA: But this man is innocent! I'm sure he didn't hand out the leaflets.

2nd COP: All right. Put the cuffs on him and take him away.

KARPOV: Wait! I can explain . . .

(*KARPOV IS STRUCK AND CRIES OUT*)

1st COP: Shaddup! Tell your stories to the Inspector.

KARPOV: Give me a chance. I'm innocent I tell you (*HE IS DRAGGED OFF*)

ANYA: But . . . all the man did was buy a pickle.

* * *

Scene Ten: A store

"It costs nothing to die, you know."

LYDIA (*WALKING THROUGH SNOW, WIND HOWLING*): Ooooh, that wind cut right through my shawl, Vera.

VERA: Brrr, yes, it's a bitter night for a compassionate mission such as ours, Lydia.

LYDIA: But tell me, how did Pavel die?

VERA: I heard they caught him trying to cross into Finland. He was put in front of a firing squad.

LYDIA: Oh my. Well, we must forget all our quarrels with Mrs. Vlassova and just sit down with her like Christians to show our sympathy.

VERA: Yes, but she doesn't believe in anything, how can we console her?

LYDIA: Ah, here is her door. (*THEY ENTER*)

VERA: You are not alone in this hour of misery, Mrs. Vlassova.

ANYA: Come in.

LYDIA & VERA (*OVERCOME WITH FEELING THEY SOB LOUDLY*) Your only son . . . such a fine man . . . cut down in the prime of life . . . our whole house suffers with you . . . how could I possibly have known?

ANYA: Please . . . sit down. Here, I've made some tea (*SHE POURS IT FOR THEM, THEY SIP LOUDLY*) There, do you feel better now?

VERA: You are so composed, Mrs. Vlassova.

LYDIA: But you are perfectly right. All of us are in God's hands.

VERA: And God knows what he does.

(*ANYA CLEARS HER THROAT*)

LYDIA: Here's a pot of stew. It only needs to be heated up.

ANYA: Thank you, Lydia.

VERA: Anya dear, I brought you my Bible. You can keep it as long as you want.

ANYA: Thank you, Vera. But the teacher left me his books when he went away on vacation.

VERA: Oh, he did? Well, my Bible has often been a great consolation to me . . . Mankind needs God, Anya Vlassova, we are helpless against fate.

ANYA: What we say is this: the fate of man . . . is man.

VERA: Mrs. Vlassova, don't forget why God has taken

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your Pavel from you.

ANYA: Oh no! It was the Czar that took him from me and I don't forget why.

VERA: God took him, not the Czar.

ANYA: Lydia, I hear that the God who took my Pavel from me is taking away your two rooms next Saturday. Is that right? Has God given you your eviction notice?

VERA: I gave her notice. She hasn't paid her rent in three months.

ANYA: But Vera, God willed that you should not get that rent.

VERA: Oh, pish!

ANYA: Lydia, why don't you ask your landlady if you can borrow her Bible. Then you can read it to your children while you sit out in the cold.

VERA: Your son would be living today if you had read more to him from the Bible.

ANYA: Living perhaps, but living very badly. Why do you fear only death? My son was not afraid of death. But he shuddered much at the misery in our cities, apparent to every eye. Hunger is what shocked us, and the degradation of those who notice it, and cause it. Do not fear death so much, but rather the inadequate life.

Lydia, why do you fear God? You should fear Vera Stefanova instead. It wasn't God who took my son, it was the government. Just as plainly as Vera Stefanova is throwing you into the street because you lost your job and couldn't pay your rent.

LYDIA: Vera, let me have the Bible for a moment?

VERA: What for?

LYDIA: In the Bible it says very clearly, "Love thy neighbor." So why are you throwing me out in the street? Give it here, I'll show you.

VERA: You're not getting the Bible for that reason!

LYDIA: Your God does me no good if I have no place to live!

(*SHE TRIES TO GET THE BIBLE*)

VERA: This Bible is my private property and *I* can show you the part about laying violent hands on another person's property. (*A STRUGGLE ENSUES—THE BIBLE IS TORN TO SHREDS*)

LYDIA: Just like the whole house, right? (*OUT OF BREATH*) I would join Anya Vlassova's party this very minute if I didn't have faith that there is a God in heaven who rewards everyone, Vera. Both good and EVIL! (*RUNS OUT INTO THE HOWLING NIGHT*)

VERA: My Bible! Torn to shreds! Look what you have done. Your son was shot because he talked like you and you don't deserve any better! (*RUNS OUT*)

ANYA (*VERY WEARY*): Better the Bible torn apart than the food spilled! Ah, they've left the door open. Ohhh, that north wind—how cold it must be out there in the darkness (*CRIES OUT*) Oh, Pavel!

Founded in 1959, the San Francisco Mime Troupe is a non-profit, unsubsidized collective and San Francisco's oldest theater company. For more than a decade it has been performing free shows in the parks of the Bay Area, and touring college campuses across the country.

Photographs by Jules Backus/Optic Nerve

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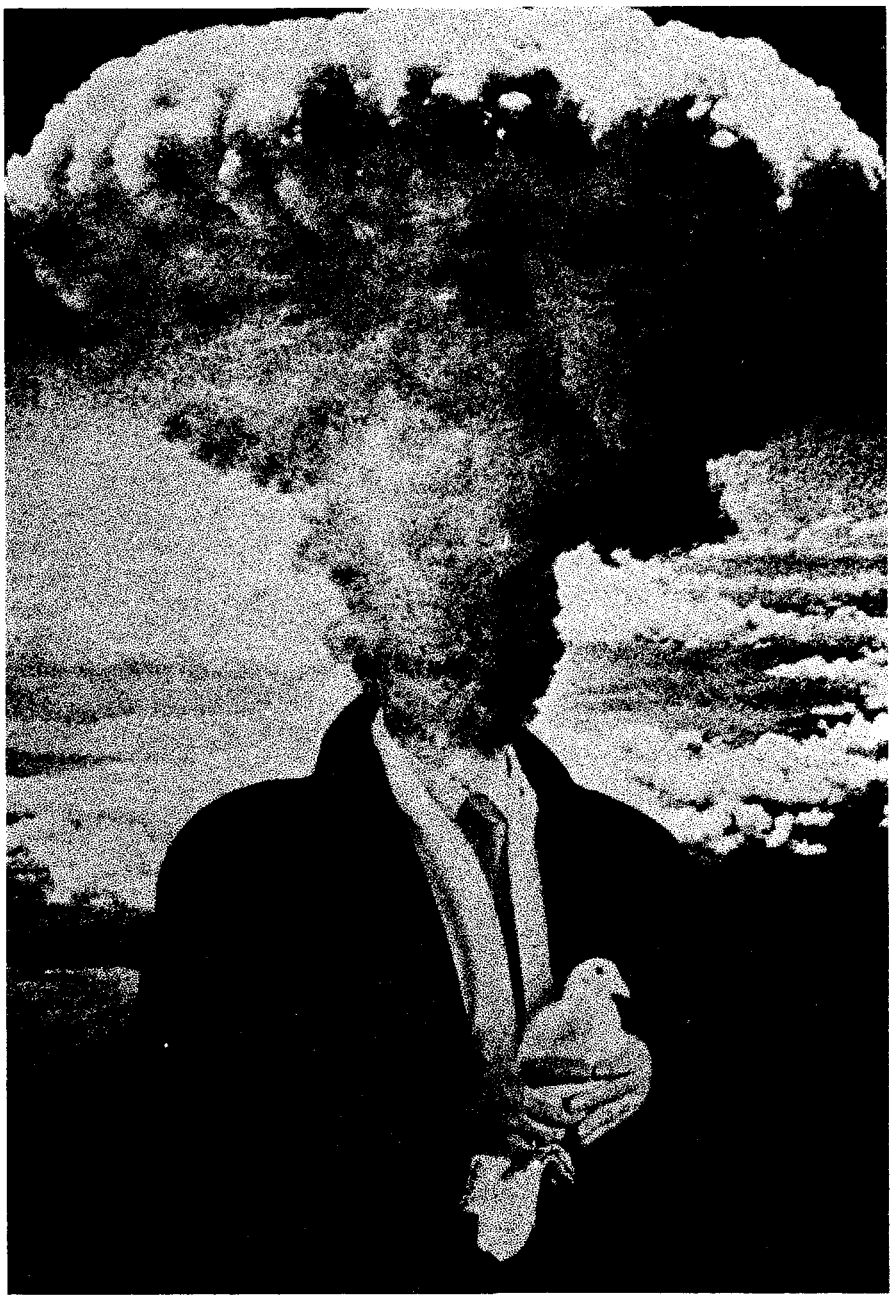

Doomsayers on the Left

An Inquiry into the Human Prospect, by Robert Heilbroner, W. W. Norton & Co., $5.95

"A Critique of Political Ecology" by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, in *New Left Review,* March-April, 1974.

Some say the world will end with fire, some with ice; some say with a bang, some with a whimper. Recent prophecies of the Apocalypse, which sound forth as stridently now as predictions of the Revolution just a few years ago, tend towards the fire/bang scenarios. Loudest and clearest is the call from Robert Heilbroner, the high prophet of doom, who suggests that some combination of thermal pollution and world wars may obliterate human civilization in the not-so-distant future. In any case, smog-hot or stone-cold, it looks to be a season in Hell.

Heilbroner's eschatology is deceptively simple: or perhaps ingenuously complex. That is, he lays out his arguments for the end of the world (as he knows it) so swiftly and lucidly as to evoke a sense that enormous quantities of slow and opaque arguments have been chewed and digested before presentation. Briefly (more briefly even than Heilbroner would sanction) this is his thesis:

The whole world is entering an era of rapid population growth and equally rapid dwindling of resources. The industrialized nations, both capitalist and socialist, are beginning to fight among themselves, and with the resource-rich non-industrial countries, for control of food and materials. No nation is willing to give up its plans for industrial expansion, but if output is allowed to grow even at its present rate, a lethal level of atmospheric heat pollution will be reached in just a few short centuries. Thermal extinction may be avoided by a reduction in growth, but that would cause convulsive distribution problems both within the "static" societies and between richer and poorer countries. The presence of nuclear weapons will tempt stronger nations to "grab" resources and permit weaker ones to "blackmail" the industrial powers. No available models of capitalist or socialist organization are practically and politically capable of resolving these contradictions in a democratic way. What seems most likely and logical—although not inevitable—is the rise of Left or Right totalitarianism, which alone can handle the distributive inequities, the rebellious impulses, and the psychological insecurities which are bound to develop.

At first glance, Heilbroner's arguments seem to be a variant of some 1950's "end of ideology" theories, which proclaimed that whatever was wrong with America concerned problems of management, technology and social invention—not class conflict, the ownership of production, or imperial necessity. Heilbroner's is an "ideology of the end" in some of the same veins. Nations, governments, and classes seem to be trapped by wholly external forces: the finite limits of energy use before we swelter to death; the dearth of fuel, food and minerals; the inexorable multiplication of live bodies; the psychological needs of humans for

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security and authority; the inability of peoples to identify themselves beyond the family-tribe-nation concept.

Unfortunately—because the optimism of the Left is often grounded in radicals' ability to outpoint bourgeois pessimists in academic debate—Heilbroner cannot be fitted easily into the bag reserved for sloppy critics of Marxism or unreasoning opponents of revolution. Though no Marxist and certainly no revolutionary (he is "Norman Thomas Professor of Economics" at the New School for Social Research, in New York), he is sensitive to the overwhelming importance of systems of production in the course of civilization. In a skimpy epilogue to the body of his dissertation (post-graduate images keep creeping into any consideration of Heilbroner: it can't be helped), he writes that a society that could survive the various ecological and economic convulsions of the next centuries would have to undergo "a sweeping reorganization of the mode of production" that might imply the end of factories, or urban complexes, or bureaucracies . . . whatever.

Heilbroner's remark—practically a throwaway—struck me with a small shock of recognition when I saw it repeated and much expanded in another doomsday discussion, by the German Marxist Hans Magnus Enzensberger. "Only . . . a view of capitalism . . . as a mode of production and not as a mere property relationship, allows the ecological problem to be dealt with in Marxist terms," Enzensberger says. And it turns out that his perspective on the coming catastrophic crunch is very close to Heilbroner's—so much so that the *differences* in tone become the most important basis for thinking about a political response. Enzensberger says he is willing to agree to the likely but unverifiable (there will always be a German intellectual worrying about verification) notion that "the industrial societies of this earth are producing ecological contradictions, which must in the foreseeable future lead to their collapse." He does not distinguish between socialist and capitalist industrialists. His own list of eight major factors in the book of doom puts overheating at the end and overpeopling at the beginning. He goes on to cite resource exhaustion, water consumption, food shortages, pollution from waste and chemical poisons, and "psychic pollution" as real and present dangers.

The two critics are aware that the politics of ecology is a tricky business that tells more about the interests of the eco-politicians than about the possibilities of their strategies. Heilbroner is deeply worried that his analysis will be used by out-and-out fascists to justify the repressive institutions he pessimistically predicts. Enzensberger details at length the self-serving ideologies of technocrats and middle-class professionals who have formed ecology movements to make the world safe for their control or their pleasure. The fashionable concern for the ecological crisis looks on one level like an expression of nothing more terrible than the decadence of bourgeois society: "the bourgeoisie can conceive of its own imminent collapse only as the end of the world," Enzensberger says.

But to identify the self-interests of the ecology politicians and the prophets of eco-doom, he continues, "will not conjure the needs of a rapidly growing population out of existence. An examination of the advertising campaigns of the enterprises involved does not increase the energy reserves of the earth by a single ton. . . . A critique of ideology which is tempted to go beyond its effective limits itself becomes an ideology."

That certainly seems to be a debilitating weakness of the American radical response to the ecology movements: the Left either rejects the entire discussion out of hand, as so much loose talk by bored suburbanites and venal corporate public relations men; or it claims that socialism would/will solve everything. Instead of an ideology of survival, radicals propose an ideology of criticism.

[OUT FROM UNDER THE GUN]

The evidence of current history as well as the probabilities of future development offer very little encouragement for those who favor American-style crisis management, Soviet-style state centralism, or even Chinese-style enforced enthusiasm as solutions for social survival. Heilbroner, firmly in his Norman Thomas chair, muses wistfully that socialism in one or another of its guises (he rather likes the Czech liberalism of 1968, of course, but admits that it has no historical force) is the best system for short-term management under the ecological gun. Enzensberger has no doubt that unbridled capitalist expansionism leads to disaster by the shortest distance, and provides no equable deals along the way. But the way the socialist countries deal with their own environments and compete for the resources and loyalties of the non-industrial world leads to a lot of pessimism about that road, however sweet the theories.

It's all very heavy weather. Discussions about "politics" I've been in over the last few years seem to avoid "the future"—beyond a reasonable point a generation hence—except in the most abstract and sentimental terms. Enzensberger insists that Marxists, of all people, have a connection with generations-to-come, but even there it seems too hypothetical. Heilbroner, pessimistically driving one more nail into humankind's coffin, argues that it is yet beyond the sensibility of most people to identify themselves with the interests of their grandchildren, let alone the unborn of a century or two from now.

But it is during these tentative flashes on "psychology" or "consciousness" (depending on the vocabulary of one's choice) that a politics begins to emerge from the difference in the two perspectives on the Apocalypse. It's something like the way energy is generated in relation to the different molecular qualities of two metals. Heilbroner can summon only a filmy vision of a society that might outlast heat, nuclear war and totalitarian repression. It would, he thinks, "require the abandonment of the lethal techniques, the uncongenial lifeways, and the dangerous mentality of industrial civilization itself." The role of "science" would be greatly reduced in that new society's value system; so would the imperative of the work ethic. Around it all would be a new context of consciousness: a focus on existence rather than instrumentality, being rather than doing, "the inner states of experience rather than the outer world of fact and material accomplishment."

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Put that way, Heilbroner *does* sound a bit hippy-dippy, pitting a Charles Reich fantasy against a Third Reich nightmare. But his Consciousness XXII society does have roots in important existential movements of this decade that are not likely to be lessened over time. The exploration of meditative and reflective disciplines, the experimentation with pre-industrial life styles and the enthusiasm for existential psychotherapies—all of which mark significant features of the current social landscape—are primitive responses to early stages of the ecological pressures which Heilbroner extends to apocalyptic lengths.

Enzensberger's vision of the survival society is expressed in Marxist rather than personal terms. The revolution that *must* (not, inevitably, *shall*) take place has to do more than dispossess private capitalists. "The socialist revolution cannot be understood merely as a transfer of ownership leading to a more just distribution of wealth while other relationships remain alienated and reified. It must lead to totally revolutionized relationships between men and between men and things—that is to say, it must revolutionize the whole social production of their lives. It will either aim to transcend . . . the situation of alienation, of the division between work and its profit, the end of commodity fetishism, or it will not be the socialist revolution."

Both perspectives include a radical transformation of life based on total reorganization of the way people work: no more General Motors, no more Mitsubishi, no more Volga Auto Works—maybe no more Detroit or Osaka or Kiev. Heilbroner gives no help on what remains the crucial issue: how it will come about. Enzensberger sees a revolution at the end of the road organized around the very points of survival that will someday come clear.

My own feeling is that the post-socialist revolution cannot be analyzed until the details of the post-industrial world are known, that current strategies are either wholly immature ("environmental defense") or counter-productive ("proletarian revolution" on European models). Those strategies are based on visions that come from picture-book histories—of New Jerusalems and collective farms and gleaming steel works run by beaming proletarians. The history of the future will look quite different.

"No one is saying, with any clarity, what we should do about the impending disaster. There are enough ideas around; what's lacking is the radical will."

[REVOLUTIONARY SURVIVAL]

No one is saying, with any clarity, what we should do about the impending disaster in the meantime. Heilbroner is all pessimism; he is convinced that the sweetness of life he now enjoys will disappear after the revolution, as surely as after the Apocalypse. The projective nostalgia that drips from his social position does not allow much room for programmatic conclusions. Heilbroner's comfortable stance far behind the intellectual barricades cuts him off from real politics. Enzensberger seems to think that mass movements around ecological issues—if they are not based on the interests of the corporations and technocrats—have potential for growth into serious revolutionary forces. In this country, however, only a few of those localized environmental movements contain a Left radical input. Naderite groups tend to gravitate towards the most superficial or reformist programs that rely on existing state power to clean up this or that river, deny a license to one or another power plant, or stop construction of some freeway. Anti-corporate attitudes flourish and are quickly included in managerial plans to preserve corporate privileges.

With some political justification and a great deal of understandable stylistic qualms, the American Left avoids eco-movements like the plagues they believe won't descend. There's more immediate romance and satisfaction in focusing on, say, prisons, or ghettoes, or strikes. But in terms of the historical sweep, the Left may be missing the point. Last winter's "energy crisis," such as it was—or is—provided a good picture of the poverty of radical politics. Ordinary Americans were seized with a crisis consciousness far more devastating and immediate than they had been during the peak period of the war in Indochina. Yet there was no serious attempt by the movements of the Left to put forward a radical political program that could help people to understand the various aspects of the crisis. Instead, there were right-on rhetorical attacks on the "conspiracies" and I-told-you-so dismissals of American capitalism: none of which contained implications for real political organizing.

What if radicals had begun organizing for community control of fuel allocation and distribution? Perhaps plans could have been drawn up for food or fuel cooperatives, at the same time that practical protests were directed at local supermarkets and oil distributors. Municipal, state or regional ownership of food, power or banking institutions might make sense—along with a tax on existing private corporations and the unresponsive regulatory agencies now protecting them. Programs and politics could be developed around population dispersal, alternate power systems, shortage economics, land-use control, work reorganization. There are enough ideas around to work with; what's lacking is the radical will.

"If ecology's hypotheses are valid," Enzensberger writes—if growth, shortages and pollution are driving the world to doomsday—"then capitalist societies have probably thrown away the chance for realizing Marx's project for the reconciliation of man and nature. The productive forces which bourgeois society has unleashed have been caught up with and overtaken by the destructive powers released at the same time. The highly industrialized countries of the West will not be alone in paying the price for the revolution that never happened. The fight against want is an inheritance they leave to all mankind, even in those areas where mankind survives the catastrophe."

Revolution then becomes not a utopian luxury but a "question of survival." And unless the question is asked, there is no possibility of an answer. □

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Education:

Trying Other Ways

From 1969 to 1972 Herb Kohl taught at Other Ways, an alternative school located in a storefront and affiliated with the Berkeley Unified School District. This is an account of his experiences.

It is hard to understand what bound us together with such emotion and energy. There must have been at least five hundred people who came through the storefront that year. Many came often. However, only seven of us came together with such intensity—one woman and six men, one Jew from New York, one Irishman from California, an Italian from New Jersey, a WASP from New England, a black man from Berkeley, another black man from New York, and a black African. All of us in one way or another had been kicked out of the main culture, but no one wanted to take a rest or mark time. There was a need in each of our individual lives at that moment to become involved in something of importance which meant something different to each one of us. We did not have a common vision as much as a common need to have a vision, direction, focus, center, and to have an arena in which the vision could be worked into existence. We also had lots of time, and a small amount of money from Carnegie.

We were a group of individuals who negated very well—redistributed the money from Carnegie, avoided hierarchy, attempted to deal with racism and later sexism. We also tried to reach out and affect others—the Berkeley Unified School District in particular, as well as people throughout the county concerned with schools. We strove to create a whole, open, committed group dedicated to working with young people. In the process we passed through many stages of internal perversity, fought external battles with hostile public authorities, and occasionally got a taste of health.

Then there was the Herbkohl phenomenon, which played a part in our coming together, although it is impossible for me to know how significant it was. Herbkohl is the person who wrote my books as he is constituted in the minds of the people who read them. Often he bears only a minimal resemblance to me. He is a romantic, centrifugal figure who attracts people and then repels them because of his lack of resemblance to my flesh and blood. He is the person who many people feel has the answer to unanswerable questions, as well as a whole bag of tricks to make growth and learning easy. I'm sure that a lot of people were disappointed to discover that the message, the only message, was to act to learn to love oneself, and try to love, and maybe something better would emerge. I was as unsure about the future, as undeveloped in myself, as many people who came to consult and question me.

I'm not sure how much my public role initially caused the people who became part of Other Ways to get involved. I harshly rejected anyone who seemed as though they were making love to an image, no matter how flattering their attention seemed initially. People who resisted the image and fought its authority attracted me and that made it possible for them to stay.

It was also impossible for all of us to get close to people who didn't drink or smoke dope, who couldn't laugh, who didn't try to make love to the world in their own way. Dour people, superserious people, earnest people never felt at ease at Other Ways. Life was always moving too fast, there was too much noise, stumbling, groping, joking, screaming, touching, too much madness and silliness, too many blunders, too much ecstasy or pretend-ecstasy. Half the time we took ourselves seriously when we were only foolish. In thinking about the first year of Other Ways I feel affectionate toward that time, slightly awed that we were able to survive without tragedy or tragic folly, and yet I know that there is no way I would go through that experience a second time.

I am afraid that the role of stern and responsible father fell to me. It was flattering—part of me needed to be confirmed as a rock of stability. I was just learning how to father my own children and the fantasy of already being competent was useful in working toward that goal. Externally I was the project director, the responsible boss. I was not comfortable with that, yet had to embody at least the appearances for the sake of the B.U.S.D. and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It was easier to take that burden as a family member than as a project director. I did not want the responsibility of being the sole and ultimate source of decisions, since I was foundering as much as anyone else.

Because I shared my salary with other people, it was easier to share the responsibility of defining the direction of the group and assume a role within a collective rather than a controlling role above everyone else. We liked to think of the group as a new archetype, as I am sure every new group does. We needed to think on and celebrate our

by Herbert Kohl

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uniqueness and newness and often ignored the fact that our new roles were ancient and represented if anything a groping, painful, uncertain reconstruction of a caring human group, of a group without exploitation or insane competition but with diversity and compassion. We also overlooked the harsher fact that our roles were diluted not a little by what we brought to the group, by our training in competition and cruelty as well as our just not knowing how to support one another. We all had our own demons and we didn't know how to help one another deal with them.

There were always problems that had to be dealt with that our so-called family allegiances didn't resolve. Problems arose when people failed to abide by collective decisions or acted in the name of the group without telling others what they were doing. We talked behind one another's backs, and often took joy in seeing a member of the group fail or flounder. These conditions, which are quite normal in the established culture, are not supposed to exist in the new one, and in celebrating our newness we remained blind to the forms our behavior actually assumed.

The rhetoric is that people should always be open and honest with one another. The reality is that people have never learned how to be open or honest, are so unsure of their centers and identities, are so fundamentally tender and fragile that they will go to amazing and often bizarre lengths to avoid or deny something that confronts them with their own inbred nastiness and dishonesty. Everyone, especially in the new groups, needs to feel good and pure, wants to have reached the new world without struggling to create it, wants to be in the future already.

* * *

Other Ways had its share of hypocrisy and none of us liked to face it. We pretended not to accept the authority of the superintendent, and yet we went to him for help when we were in trouble. We did not believe in tests, diplomas, grades, and yet evaluated our students' work, hustled to get them legitimate Berkeley High diplomas, and submitted transcripts listing all of their classes through the regular school district channels.

We liked to believe we responded to the needs of our students, but occasionally we responded to the pressure of parents or the school district, contrary to the students expressed wishes. Survival was always an issue, so we conformed to outrageous building codes, wrote jargon-filled meaningless proposals, entertained visitors, and made presentations to people outside the group that concealed our deep troubles and misrepresented our virtues in order to create a respectable impression.

Understanding the points at which one is being hypocritical for the sake of survival or in order to develop the power to change things does not make it any easier to accept hypocritical actions. This honesty about dishonesty can be of use, however, in tempering the overglamorous and uncritical interpretations some of us put on our work.

In addition to frequent hypocritical action any group of people committed to organizing themselves with the purpose of remaking our society and culture must face the prospect of being devastated. People who have wealth and power are not about to give them up easily and will act as harshly as necessary to prevent change. Any new group that develops power has to be wary of infiltration, provocation, harassment, and, as the case of the Black Panther Party has shown, murder.

And there are times of group crisis when there is a tendency for members of the group to panic. I remember a moment of panic during the second year of Other Ways. By then we had sixty-five young people and ten adults involved. On January 6, after spending all Christmas vacation painting and fixing our building, we were evicted by the Berkeley Fire, Building, and Health Departments. Not only were we evicted; we were given one hour to vacate and lock the building. Near panic resulted. The kids, who had an enormous emotional stake in the school, felt crushed, punished, oppressed. Some of the staff talked as if our mad adventure were all over and others sulked quietly or sat around on the verge of tears. We had worked so hard, put so much into school; it all seemed over.

But instead of retreating to our separate homes that afternoon, all seventy-five of us went to a restaurant and ate and drank together for hours. We came together instead of falling apart, celebrated our life rather than mourned the loss of our building. The next day we decentralized the school, and for a while met in people's homes, in the parks, in restaurants—wherever we could get together and go about our business.

We also had to do battle with the juvenile bureau of the Berkeley Police Department, since the lieutenant in charge felt that youngsters did not have a right to be in the community for any purpose (including learning) between the hours of nine and three and, therefore, during our second year, students were busted for being on the streets and their student cards were confiscated without explanation.

When Other Ways was attempting to negotiate with the B.U.S.D. for funds to continue, we found that if the group hung loose, we would be destroyed. If some of us were going to sit down to talk with the superintendent or some other bureaucrat, it was crucial that our people agreed with one another on all points, that we acknowledged a spokesman, that if someone had to get angry or make threats or walk out it was pre-set who would assume that role and be in a position to decide on crucial points. If an unexpected problem arose during the negotiations, it was equally necessary that we had agreed upon a procedure to withdraw and caucus rather than make snap decisions that might defeat us. No matter how loose and democratic we were internally, no matter how much argumentation and disagreement existed during our staff meetings, we presented a unified closed perverse face to the enemy.

Naturally we learned this lesson by acting stupidly and barely surviving our mistakes. For example, the first time we were denied money by the superintendent's cabinet we took our case to the Berkeley School Board—all of us, drastically, angrily. We had fifty or so students, the entire staff, friends, parents. We jammed the place and everyone got up to speak passionately on our behalf. There was no coherent planning. One of the students who was

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particularly distressed at the thought of Other Ways being destroyed came to the mike almost in tears. His voice trembled as he described how much the school meant to him. He was facing the five-person school board as he spoke. Suddenly he turned away from the board and pointed a finger at a man in the back of the room. He accused that man of taking our money, of corrupting students, of not caring. There was a stunned silence in the room—the man was a principal in the school district. The man was also the student's father. A confused mixture of personal, political, social accusations poured out. The son and father were both pained, distressed. The audience was shocked, angered—What was the young man up to? What were we up to? What had we put him up to? We just about blew our chances to survive that night; the young man was crushed and we had to help him through the trauma. We spoke to his father, who emerged with incredible dignity and compassion for his son's suffering. We were rescued by one of the school board members—but barely.

At other times we learned that an easy way for a group to be defeated in negotiations is for them to show internal disagreement publicly. The superintendent, for example, is a master at turning people against one another, of shifting the focus of a meeting from himself to the group that is petitioning. Any sign of weakness can be fatal. We ended up role-playing many of the meetings with people who had power over our lives. We defined roles, found ways of checking one another, of keeping some people out of meetings, of matching our strength with the strengths of people we had to deal with.

If a group doesn't acknowledge the possibility of being devastated and provide forms of retreat, withdrawal, going underground, and celebrating renewal during times of extreme crisis, it might get wiped out under the slightest assault. A devastated group is a panicked group. The center falls apart, people forget their roles and fall all over one another in an attempt to escape collective destruction. All internal cohesiveness disappears. Some people turn murderous, others suicidal, others hysterical. In panic people forget who they are or what binds them together.

At Other Ways the group was most coherent and together when a clearly defined enemy was applying direct pressure. Sometimes, especially during the time we were without a building, a few weeks of no contact with the police or building department or school administrators would cause a lot of anxiety in our group. The negative definition of ourselves at war with the system had taken such a hold on us that we periodically forgot our positive self-definition. During these times we would go through crises of self-identity and have to remind ourselves of our goals. Fortunately, our students never let us forget for too long that they were the only justification for our existence.

Because one can find an identity through fighting and therefore become dependent on the battle, it is sometimes hard to stop fighting even after a victory. When we won something from the superintendent we didn't know how to stop because the battle temporarily defines us. Sometimes we fought past the specific victory and right back to a position of weakness. We had to learn to function in an autonomous, self-governing way.

However, there is a major danger here—forgetting the students because of obsession with our needs as adults. At Other Ways the students were frequently irritated by the staff's obsessive concern with working out its problems of organization and distribution of power. Fortunately the students never let us get away with these indulgences too long—they demanded to be taught, to be heard, and to remain where they belonged—at the center of our concern.

* * *

I remember the times at Other Ways when we bragged about being the best alternative school in the Bay Area—and remember how it cut us off from our most natural allies, the other alternative schools we were putting down. They acted the same way toward us. There is no conception in most alternative groups of the whole, of a collective struggle that goes beyond the individual group and reaches through all levels and functions in this culture. Instead, there is jealousy and competition, the inability to forge alliances or respect and support other people's work. Some people act as if they could make a revolution all by themselves, and they pout, despair, and quit fighting when they fail. This is just another way our schooling causes us to neutralize change—by turning it into a competitive activity.

In education there is a band of superstars who play the conference circuit, talking about what should happen within the schools or beyond the schools. I used to be one of them and now, with a new book of mine on reading recently published, I'm being pressured into joining the ranks again.

The group of us created a great deal of enthusiasm and got people to start their own things all over the country. Yet for the most part we were not involved in functioning and healthy schools or communities that embodied the ideas we were hawking. Without these examples we talked a lot of abstract nonsense and gave the impression that things were easier to change than they are. I know that as I became involved in Other Ways it became harder and harder for me to give a talk on "education" or on "how to change the schools" or on "how to be as groovy or relevant as Herbkohl." What I saw and see now is the need for beginning and for surviving, as well as the initial agreement upon principles. Beyond this, and more difficult, any group that wants to develop a healthy alternative must lay down roots in a specific community. The people must commit themselves to settling down and not running away when trouble develops. People have to define their roots in space and time as well as in ideas and stop tripping from alternative to alternative, from free school to free school, commune to commune, community group to community group, place to place. Strategies must be developed that fit with the needs of specific communities at particular moments of their history. Abstract ideas must be translated into everyday realities and tempered by the failures and successes that occur during the process.

Some groups seem to be involved in more glamorous activities than others and glamour sometimes is taken as a measure of radicalness. For whites, developing an open or socialist class-

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room in a ghetto is more glamorous than doing it in the suburbs; working in a fugitive free school located in a storefront is more glamorous than working in an alternative school within a public school system; functioning in a legal or medical collective is more glamorous than trying to change a public hospital. This is all crap. In his account of the Cuban revolution Che Guevara talked about the guerrilla bands in the hills and their support groups in the unions and the professions who functioned within the cities. He said that each served a function, that each was necessary, that revolution was not possible without both preparing an army in the hills and infiltrating the schools and transportation and communication and business operations in the cities. Both groups had to be prepared and willing to work together if the revolution was to succeed.

For America, at this moment in our development, the bands in the hills would be involved as much in glamorizing themselves and putting down the urban fighters as in preparing the way for a different world. And the people struggling in the cities would respond in kind, everyone forgetting too often and too easily the common enemy. To succeed in changing this culture we must pull together, support one another's struggles, and keep a vision of the whole before us.

Many people ask whether it is worth beginning again after the fate of the civil rights movement, the disenchantment with alternative schools, the resignation and conformity of many university students, the general amnesia about our role in Vietnam, the cynicism and harshness the federal government and large corporations manifest when dealing with the needs of poor and powerless people, the crises that seem manufactured to confound and exploit the middle class. The answer is, What choice do we have? Either we struggle to create a sane world or destroy ourselves and the earth through greed and thoughtlessness.

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NUCLEAR POWER

(From page 25)

tems Performance Branch of AEC's division of Reactor Standards, and his deputy, Robert J. Coleman, declared in a June 1, 1971 memo, "We believe that . . . the system performance cannot be designed to provide a clear basis for licensing." Even Shaw somewhat obliquely expressed his worries about the ECCS test results, saying "experimental data techniques are not now sufficient to provide the degree of ECCS assurance necessary by the AEC."

Faced with the prospect of having to shut down the entire nuclear power industry and halt further licensing just as a number of new plants were about to come on line, the AEC hastily issued a set of "Interim Acceptance Criteria" which, while not admitting directly that the ECCS program was in deep trouble, allowed the AEC to continue licensing new plants in the absence of acceptable test data.

[COVER-UP]

Meanwhile, the coverup inside the AEC continued. A new memorandum listing 28 specific areas of knowledge or capability critical to the operation of the ECCS, all of which were either non-existent or badly deficient, was withheld from the regulatory and licensing arm of the AEC. The AEC regulators saw it for the first time at the Bethesda ECCS hearings, when the intervenors gave them a copy that had been leaked to them.

When a reporter visited the Idaho testing center, he found that even scientists with distinguished reputations were afraid to state their views for the record, fearing for their jobs. Several cited stories of outspoken scientists or administrators who had been shuffled to "nothing jobs" by Director Shaw. The President of Aerojet Nuclear—the managers of the Idaho reservation—frankly confirmed the scientists' fears. He commented that if any employee's comments "sour his relationship with the customer [AEC] we cannot guarantee that after some time . . . he will still be in his same position."

Then, during the Bethesda hearings, Shaw publicly admitted that he had been regularly censoring reports from Aerojet Nuclear on safety problems. "It was not a question of falsifying data," commented a senior AEC researcher. "But we did have to rewrite reports so that they provided less useful information than the original versions."

Though the hearings did not receive wide national attention, they still had an impact on the AEC's reputation. In January 1973, Ralph Nader, with his formidable ability to command the attention of the press, joined forces with Kendall and Ford in support of a nuclear power moratorium. *Business Week*, a long-time advocate of nuclear power, advocated breaking up the AEC into a regulatory agency and a research and development agency, to separate the regulatory function from the influence of the reactor industry. The Joint Congressional Economic Committee study on *The Energy Outlook for the 1980's*, issued in December 1973, commented, "The Atomic Energy Commission has developed a serious credibility gap in recent years by suppressing unwelcome evidence of danger and by demoting or firing researchers who have pushed their findings too vigorously. In view of the huge investment in nuclear plants, the Congress might want to investigate the extent of danger in nuclear plants."

In May 1973, the AEC underwent a "shakeup" in which Milton Shaw was forced out of his job as the head of the Division of Reactor Development and Testing, by the new AEC Director Dixie Lee Ray. Shaw's office was broken up into two separate divisions, one concerned with overall safety, and the other with breeder reactor development. But the AEC has had several "shakeups" before—one as recently as 1971, when James Schlesinger became AEC chairman.

And the old problems remain. Most of the ECCS testing program is now under the direction of Dr. Long Sun Tong, assistant director of the Division of Reactor Safety for Water Reactor Safety Research, and late of Westinghouse's nuclear power division. One disgruntled Aerojet engineer in Idaho complained that Tong doesn't seem to be interested in the ECCS testing program. "If he could kill it, he would," complained the engineer. The ECCS

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still remains as unproven as it was in 1972. And when the AEC decided to conduct new fuel rod tests in 1973, they were contracted out again—this time exclusively to Westinghouse. AEC sources report that the new test data is of questionable value.

AEC scientists critical of reactor safety are still being harrassed and pressured out of their jobs. And censorship continues to function against findings considered unfavorable to reactor development programs. In June 1973, lawyer Myron Cherry used the Freedom of Information Act to force the AEC to release a 1964–65 update of the 1957 Brookhaven report on the possible outcome of a nuclear accident. Buried in the pages of the report were the conclusions that an explosion at a moderate-sized reactor would result in 45,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries and $17 billion in damages (compared to the 1957 figures of 3,900 dead and 43,000 injured).

Instead of releasing that report, then-AEC Chairman James Schleisinger asked the AEC safety experts to come up with a different, less frightening kind of figure: the odds of a serious reactor accident. The researchers came up with a million-to-one figure per reactor, per year. That figure is still being touted by AEC Chairman Dixie Lee Ray and appears in pro-nuclear power advertisements prepared by utilities like Pacific Gas and Electric. But William Bryan, a former safety analysis expert with the space program, told a California legislative committee that the AEC had misused the million-to-one figure (now inflated to a billion in one). "The absolute value of the number is absolutely meaningless," said Bryan. "There is just no way that number can mean anything in the terms of the real world probability of failure."

Bryan's doubts were confirmed in a study by an AEC task force that was leaked to the Union of Concerned Scientists in October 1973. The report stated that "the task force . . . does not believe that the overall incident record over the past several years give the required confidence level that the probability for such an accident is one in a million or less per reactor-year." When the AEC issued its own sanitized version of the task force report in January 1974, this and other phrases damaging to the reactor program were deleted.

[SERIOUS SNAGS]

But the problems of the nuclear industry have grown too numerous to ignore so easily. In May 1974, plutonium was discovered to have leaked into the Erie Canal from an AEC weapons laboratory. "We have no idea how the plutonium leaked out of the factory into the mud," said an AEC spokesman. In August 1973, the AEC ordered the power levels reduced at ten nuclear power plants after finding that the uranium pellets were densifying, which increases the chance of a core melt-down accident. "We're playing the risk game," one AEC source said. "The probabilities of an accident are small, although the consequences of an accident under these conditions might be worse."

The nuclear power industry's plans to recycle most of its used nuclear fuel are at a standstill. The first recycling plant had to be closed in 1972 after local environmentalists found it was leaking radioactive Strontium-90 into local creeks. General Electric's recycling plant, scheduled to open this year, has been delayed indefinitely. Industry officials say that there will be no fuel recycling facilities available to them until 1977 at the earliest. Meanwhile, spent nuclear fuel rods are accumulating in cooling ponds outside of power plants, and the plants are running out of storage room. Several power plants have already filled up their emergency storage pools, which are supposed to be held in reserve in case a runaway fuel core has to be dumped in a hurry. Meanwhile, the AEC is still searching for a place to dump the used fuel which *cannot* be recycled and which remains a danger for tens of thousands of years. The Commission's plan to bury it in some abandoned Kansas salt mines had to be abandoned when Kansas state engineers discovered the mines leaked.

Economic problems also abound; building costs have gotten out of hand. Between the early Sixties and the early Seventies, the cost per killowatt of capacity for building a nuclear plant more than quadrupled, despite the fact that the newer, larger plants were supposed to be more economical. On top

Economist Daniel Ford

of that, a 1973 congressional study showed that, even without taking the construction cost increases into account, and without considering the amount of federal subsidy in research, fuel, and insurance for the nuclear industry, nuclear-powered electricity was still more expensive to produce per kilowatt than either coal-, geothermal-, or hydropower-generated electricity. Repair bills on nuclear plants have been running $8 to $10 million per repair, even for minor mishaps. The operating plants have only been operating at an average of around 60 percent of capacity. The *Wall Street Journal* summed up the nuclear reactor problems last year by calling them "atomic lemons." And in the background still looms the nagging doubts about the vital but still untested Emergency Core Cooling System.

Why has the nuclear power program proved such a failure? What has metamorphosed the "power in a pea" promised us 30 years ago into an atomic lemon? Certainly the AEC's heavy-handed, deceptive approach to rushing the development of civilian reactors has had a lot to do with it. So, too, has the increasing incompetence of American engineering. (Foreign gas-cooled reactors are less likely to have a disastrous accident than our water-cooled models, and the less-enriched fuel they use poses fewer radiation hazards.) But behind all the particular flaws in the program, and all the efforts to hide them, lies the fact that nuclear power is

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MIT physicist Henry Kendall (left), with Ralph Nader

not necessary, and by its very nature may be too dangerous for our present technology to handle.

Some of the more frank and knowledgeable nuclear power advocates have begun to admit the high, if not impossible, price that nuclear power plants will exact from us. Dr. Alvin Weinberg, director of Oak Ridge National Laboratory and a proponent of nuclear power, warns that "The price that we demand of society for this magical energy source is both a viligance and a longevity of our social institutions that we are quite unaccustomed to. . . . We have relatively little problem dealing with wastes if we can assume always that there will be intelligent people around to cope with eventualities we have not thought of." Weinberg calls for a "commitment for a permanent social order" and for a civilian "nuclear priesthood" to guard our nuclear power complex. As Dr. John Gofman has observed, "No one has provided a more succinct statement of why nuclear fission power generation is both ridiculous and irresponsible."

[ATOMIC OBSESSION]

The nuclear reactor program has proved a disaster. But, as we learned during the Vietnam War, the fact that a program has proved to be futile, destructive, and unsuccessful even in its own terms, does not mean it will stop. Failure may instead be the incentive for frantic escalation.

The "energy crisis" has provided the Nixon Administration with an excuse for such an escalation in nuclear power development. In 1971, in a landmark decision, a federal judge had ruled that the AEC had violated the Environmental Protection Act by not filing impact statements before licensing new nuclear power plants. The following year, the Nixon Administration asked for, and got, authority to suspend the impact statement requirement for licensing of nuclear power plants to meet the "energy emergency." In the last few years, arguments for nuclear power have always come down to a common denominator: if we don't have it soon, lights will fail, elevators stop, and, as former AEC Chairman Glenn Seaborg put it, civilization will collapse.

But such predictions are either thoughtless or self-serving. In the past few years, dozens of studies have shown how energy consumption can be leveled off or even cut, without reducing (and in some ways enhancing) living standards. The Ford Foundation's Energy Policy Project has come out with a relatively cautious energy "scenario" that would require no new technology, and which could supply all of the country's energy needs without nuclear power. The Ford study emphasizes that their scenario assumes "household comforts and conveniences greater than today's; no one will live, because of energy scarcity, in a lightless shack or a sweltering tenement. Every American would have a warm home in winter, air conditioning in hot climates, a kitchen complete with appliances. He would still drive a car and have a job, although he might drive less or have a different job . . . ." Another recent study by two University of California scientists suggests that energy consumption in this country could be cut to 62 per cent of 1968 levels without reductions in the availability of material goods and services. On the supply side, solar, wind and geothermal power can be developed faster than nuclear energy, since elaborate safety precautions need not be taken at each stage of development.

Nevertheless, the Nixon Administration is still obsessed with nuclear reactors. The energy budget proposed to the President by AEC Chairman Dixie Lee Ray for fiscal year 1975 allows for over one hundred times as much funding for breeder reactor development alone as for solar energy development. And sometime this year, nuclear power's domination of federal energy policy will probably achieve permanent institutional form. A bill sponsored by Congressman Chet Holifield, and backed by the Nixon Administration, is expected to put the AEC's present regulatory functions into a new Nuclear Energy Agency, while the rest of the AEC's research and development functions will be merged into a new Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), together with a few other, much smaller federal energy programs currently scattered in other parts of the federal bureaucracy. To be sure, the separation of the AEC's regulatory and developmental functions may have some beneficial effect on the loose regulatory practices that have marked the AEC's history. But more importantly, the new arrangement means that the giant AEC research and development establishment will easily dominate all the other energy programs within ERDA.

Nixon's rumored choice to be the first chief of ERDA is John W. Simpson, the head of Westinghouse's nuclear reactor division. As Joe Lippman, Ralph Nader's anti-nuclear power lobbyist, complained, "ERDA is Chet Holifield's last gift to the nuclear power industry." □

Photos courtesy of Union of Concerned Scientists

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WATERGATE

(*From page 40*)

A few big businessmen did speak out, to be sure. The chairman of the Bank of America, the chairman of IBM, former Federal Reserve Chairman Marriner Eccles, Washington lawyer and former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, investor and statesman Averell Harriman all added their voices to the antiwar protest. But they remained individual voices, representing a small minority of big business and no discernible economic or regional alignment. If anything, the greatest tie between some of the name opponents of the war was their leadership in the Democratic Party, which suggests that their motives might have been more narrowly political than economic.

The vast majority of big business leaders remained committed to Nixon and his strategy for winding down the role of American groundtroops in the war. Right at the time of the Cambodian protest, Lyndon Johnson's onetime Commerce Secretary John Connors denounced the invasion before a meeting of the blue-ribbon Business Council. According to the press, 90 percent of his listeners supported the President, and of the 10 percent who did not, several thought Connors wrong to criticize him publicly.

[BEHIND THE MIRAGE]

If the split in the ruling class was a mirage, why did so many people see it as real? One reason is that few businessmen actually applauded the war, except perhaps for the initial boost to the economy in 1964 and 1965. Most found it a necessary and costly evil, as reflected in the on-the-one-hand, on-the-other-hand editorials of the *Wall Street Journal* or the "peace rallies" on the stock market whenever the news suggested that Washington might stop the communists at the conference table rather than on the battlefields.

Another reason was the media, much of which did split with the Administration over the war, and over a lot more. This was especially true of CBS, NBC, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*—the nub of what the Administration called the Eastern Establishment. The term was again vague and made it sound as if the media were speaking for Eastern Money, or the Yankees. But they were not, and that's not what the Nixon people were trying to imply. This Eastern Establishment was a cultural establishment, and the split with Nixon a part of what sophisticated economic determinists see as a very real superstructure of culture and politics.

"Virtually every element of the Nixon coalition dislikes the Sixties cultural hegemony of the *New York Times*, CBS, Harvard, the Ford Foundation, Norman Mailer, Oh! Calcutta!, and the *Portnoy's Complaint*-mongers," explained Kevin Phillips, author of the *Emerging Republican Majority*. The conflict was real. But instead of Cowboy versus Yankee money, it was *Readers Digest* versus *Newsweek*, the Grand Old Opry versus Camelot, and the votes of the middle class of the South and Southwest, as well as the Eastern suburbs, against the "limousine liberals" of Manhattan *and* Los Angeles.

The cultural establishment didn't think too highly of Nixon in return, and the media did kick him around. Where newsmen had gone along with the government in the past, they grew restive in the last years of the Johnson Administration and widened the credibility gap under Nixon. But this was hardly the Eastern snobbery which both Nixon and Johnson suspected. The media responded almost magically to the charismatic John Connally, while Nixon's number one nemesis Dan Rather of CBS is himself a Texan. More than any cultural bias, or even personal dislike, Nixon and Johnson simply suffered from the erosion of the national consensus, particularly over Vietnam and domestic dissent.

This is especially important in understanding the media's coverage of Watergate, which both Nixon and his more radical critics tend to see as the spearhead of a not-so-secret campaign to oust him from office. But, it was not the media which uncovered most of Watergate. The first inside story of the break-in came from wiretap monitor Alfred Baldwin III, who told his tale to federal prosecutors sometime before October 1972. The story of the money which paid for the break-in came from the Government Accounting Office, an arm of Congress. The story of the cash payments and offers of executive clemency to the defendants came from James McCord, frightened by the heavy provisional sentence imposed by a conservative Republican judge, "Maximum John" Sirica. The story of the Ellsberg break-in, the enemies list, the Huston Plan, and other White House Horrors came from former counsel John Dean, under pressure from Congressional investigators and fearful that the White House would make him the Watergate scapegoat. Only with Donald Segretti's campaign sabotage and perhaps one or two other stories did the media do more than leak information which government investigators, the Ervin Committee, and the grand juries had unearthed and would later make public themselves. The leaks did create a sense of excitement, and the newsmen did show an obvious bias against Nixon and for Cox and Richardson (as well as for Leon Jaworski, a Cowboy). But for the most part, the media was responding, not initiating, and it is hard to see how anything short of a unified effort to suppress the story could have kept it from becoming a cause célèbre, especially when the credibility gap was already so wide.

Nor is there any evidence that the Watergate coverage or the cultural conflict reflected any deeper economic cleavage, as the Yankee-Cowboy theorists suggest. Many of the Eastern media magnates and managers—like the Paleys of CBS, the Sulzbergers of the *Times*, and Katherine Graham of *Post-Newsweek*—came from Jewish or part-Jewish families, hardly old Yankee, and they were evidently independent of any economic interest groups on Wall Street or anywhere else. The Harriman family, long considered a major behind-the-scenes force in CBS, was Yankee and did control a lot of old money. But that could hardly be the cause of Averell Harriman's politics or Walter Cronkite's bias, since Averell's brother E. Roland Harriman remained a rock-ribbed Republican. Pushing the search for economic explanations even farther, the Trust Department of the Rockefeller family's Chase Manhattan Bank controlled large blocks of stock in all three networks. No one was more Eastern Establishment economically, and the family was the heart and pocketbook

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of the old Eastern Internationalist wing of the Republican Party, which had battled with the provincial and isolationist Taft Republicans, whose voting base was chiefly in the Midwest. This split, which was real, was probably the source of Oglesby's idea of a Yankee-Cowboy split. But the Midwesterners had become internationalists as they expanded their stake in overseas trade and investment, and they were hardly nouveau riche Cowboys. In any case, after the failure of Nelson Rockefeller's candidacy, Chase Manhattan Chairman David Rockefeller and Nelson both became staunch backers of Richard Nixon. Why not? Henry Kissinger was their foreign policy adviser.

But East-West, North-South notions should probably be shelved altogether, at least in the case of media. Even in the old Republican Party split, many of the leading Eastern Internationalists came from the heart of the Midwest. Colonel Frank Knox, who brought Republican pro-war sentiment into the Roosevelt government in 1940, ran the Chicago *Daily News,* while the Cowles still run their old family newspapers in Minneapolis and Des Moines. Today, one of the more anti-Nixon papers is the Knight chain's *Herald* in Miami, while the East Coast *Newsday,* which did investigative reporting on Nixon's links to organized crime, belongs to the big-on-Watergate *Los Angeles Times,* which also owns a newspaper in Dallas.

Much of the belief that economic blocs had split over Vietnam stemmed from the liberal attack on the Military Industrial Complex. To the liberal critics, many of them in the media, the MIC was the key cause of bloated defense budgets, hysterical anti-communism, and the war in Vietnam. The military industrialists were the number one bad guys, and they were generally pictured as suntanned executives from aerospace, all profitably paranoid about the commie threat and ready to blow us all to Kingdom Come.

In fact, the computerized Cowboys of aerospace were only a small group among the Merchants of Death. According to the Pentagon's annual lists of the Top 100 Defense Contractors, the key killers included the big four automakers, seven or eight of the international oil giants, the top tire and rubber companies, GE, Westinghouse and the consumer electronics people, even Western Union, Eastman Kodak, and Ma Bell (AT&T). All the supposed sheep were goats, and a lot of Eastern goats at that. Far from being a small group on the outskirts of the American economy, the military industrial complex turned out to be the brand names.

The Cowboys didn't even dominate the big aerospace companies, so many of which did have their plants in the sunbelt. The Wall Street bankers and their allies around the country held the financially faltering Lockheed in hock, while the dean of the Harvard Business School and a blue-blood director of CBS sat on the board of directors. Chicago industrialist Henry Crown and his friend Nathan Cummings of Consolidated Food topped General Dynamics, together with the ostensibly antiwar Andre Meyer of Lazard Frères and the partners of Cravath, Swaine, and Moore, who were also active in CBS and *Time-Life.* The East Coast financial community had a tight hold on United Aircraft and Boeing as well, and the leading venture capitalist in several of the smaller firms and also McDonnel Aircraft was Laurence Rockefeller. The military industrial complex turned out to be the cream of the corporate establishment, but the cowboy image lived on.

[IMAGINARY CONFLICTS]

On a more sophisticated level, the Yankee-Cowboy theorists borrowed from the Marxists, most obviously in seeing the economy divided into a series of "financial groups," bringing together key corporations, banks, and families through interlocking directors, common stockholdings, and long-standing financial ties. It was an old idea. Lenin had commented on the Morgan and Rockefeller groups, while the American Marxist Victor Perlo catalogued "several major empires and a series of minor duchies." But the notion got new life in 1969 when the Russians published a new book by S. Menshikov, *Millionaires and Managers.*

A leading Soviet scholar, Menshikov

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consulted all of the standard business periodicals and studies. But he also took advantage of having lived in the United States as the son of a Soviet ambassador, using his family ties to gain personal interviews with several of the country's biggest businessmen. This gave his "scientific socialism" the flavor of inside dope, which was especially important in that he never gave the evidence to prove his case.

As Menshikov saw it, financial groups were still a basic building block of the American economy. He discussed Wall Street, including the Morgan, Rockefeller, First National City Bank, and Harriman groups, as well as the older regional alliances in Boston, Cleveland, Chicago and San Francisco. But he also highlighted the newer concentrates of capital, especially those in Texas and California, and suggested that this new provincial bourgeoisie might challenge the financial superiority of the old.

Menshikov said that the new *might* challenge the old; the Yankee-Cowboy theorists assumed that the two were already locked in mortal combat. But along with the vagueness of the two armies the few reported battles seemed like the kind of economic competition that always goes on, but within geographical boundaries and between them. There was even less proof that those within any financial group actually worked together more than with firms outside, and no consideration of the welter of counter examples which suggest that American capital is coming together nationally, not splitting apart. It seemed as though the theorists had started out with real or imagined political conflicts and found some economic conflicts to go along with them.

In the theory, rich Texans were the foes of Wall Street. Back in the 1950s, for example, Texas money joined in the effort to take over the New York Central Railroad. In the 1960s the Murchisons of Texas managed to wrest temporary control of Investors Diversified Services from a group headed by the Woolworth heir, and there was a long simmering feud between Eastern finance and Howard Hughes for control of TWA. One other example might be Texas computer king Ross Perot's purchase of the DuPont Walston brokerage firm, which went under despite Perot's millions.

But there were few examples of this kind, and even they raised problems for the Yankee-Cowboy theorists. Among Howard Hughes's chief Eastern foes were two firms which worked closely with Nixon's law firm and his administration– Dillon, Read and the Irvine Trust Bank. Nixon's Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans had been president of one of the firms that merged into DuPont Walston, which Perot took over. And even more pointed, when Woolworth heir Kirby regained Investors Diversified from the Murchisons he named Nixon to his board of directors.

More generally, the Texas Cowboys worked in close alliance with Wall Street, especially several predominantly Jewish investment firms–Lazard Frères, Lehman Brothers, Goldman Sachs, Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades, and Kuhn, Loeb. The Cowboys and Jews stood together in the new conglomerates, and as William Domhoff shows in *Fat Cats and Democrats,* they were the key financial groups within the Democratic Party. A symbol of this alliance was Robert B. Anderson, who moved from managing the cattle and oil of the Waggoner estate to Eisenhower's Defense and Treasury Departments to a Wall Street partnership in Loeb, Rhoades. The Harriman group also owned a big chunk of at least one prominent Cowboy corporation, El Paso Natural Gas, which received some favorable rulings from the Nixon Administration.

The theory similarly ignored the historic economic ties between Northern finance and the Old South, the new Northern investments in Florida, the integration of California banks into a system dominated by Wall Street and the like. In fact, a few well chosen examples could show that Wall Street and the Yankees were consistently beating out the Cowboys, but that too would oversimplify the increasing financial integration of all parts of the country.

[GANGSTERS AND DEVILS]

Perhaps the most interesting contribution of the Yankee-Cowboy theory was its treatment of organized crime. In this view, the Syndicate is far more than the old Sicilian Mafia and has expanded far beyond the older, largely Democratic cities of the North to encompass the legalized gambling of Las Vegas and the Caribbean, the new opium trade from Southeast Asia, and a growing portfolio of more legitimate investments, particularly in the rapidly growing areas of the South and Southwest. This expansion has enlarged the Syndicate's political connections, and its financial resources, both from its own, often cash, profits and through control of other people's money, like the Teamsters' Pension Funds. And, as might be expected, many of these illegitimate capitalists do show up near Richard Nixon and his closest friends, especially in Florida.

The facts spoke for themselves. Nixon's old political crony Murray Chotiner represented a long line of hoodlums, while Charles Colson worked closely with the Teamsters, both in securing Jimmy Hoffa's release from prison and in private law practice. Nixon has also been an honored guest at gambling clubs in the Bahamas. His friends and investment partners Bebe Rebozo and former Senator George Smathers worked alongside Syndicate figures, as did his steady contributors C. Arnholt Smith and Howard Hughes.

But the story could be read the other way as well. The Justice Department prosecuted a large number of gangland figures, especially in the Democratic strongholds, and Nixon downplayed his anticommunism, which the gangsters were supposed to favor. In fact, there was little evidence that the gangsters ever got more than a few favors from the White House, and it was absurd to think that their influence could rival that of the somewhat cleaner capitalists, North and South. It was good that would-be Marxists had discovered crime. But they were bending the facts to suggest that it was more closely tied to Southern capital than to Northern, or they forgot that gangsters are supposed to have exercised great power in earlier administrations, particularly with Harry Truman of the Missouri Pendergast machine.

Normal competition, increased cooperation, few major conflicts, and a sprinkling of crooks everywhere– that's a far better picture of American political economy than the supposed

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Yankee-Cowboy conflict. But whatever the evidence, people will continue to believe that the crooks and the Cowboys, the military industrial complex, or some other special group are causing the country's problems. As long as the scapegoats remain shadowy and vague, no one will ever be able to knock them over, and as long as there are devils people can go on believing that some others up there might not be so bad.

A version of this article will appear in Big Brother and the Holding Company, *to be published this fall by Ramparts Press.*

CENSORSHIP

(*From page 28*)

Be," a documentary not without flaws. There are a few minor errors of fact; there is an interview with Dr. Ernest Sternglass, whose statistics on radiation and infant mortality have been discredited; and the full presentation of pro-nuclear views was undermined when the AEC abruptly withdrew permission to include interviews with several of its spokesmen. And at times the film suffers from an air of TV glibness.

Nevertheless, "Powers that Be" is an effective and accurate account of the major criticisms leveled against the safety of nuclear power. It emphasizes the dangers of nuclear accidents; the grave and unpredictable risks of radiation in plant operations; and the problem of storing great quantities of intensely radioactive waste products, which remain deadly for tens of thousands of years. The arguments against nuclear reactors are supplied largely by Drs. John Gofman and Arthur Tamplin, both of Berkeley's Lawrence Radiation Laboratories. Congressman Chet Holifield, long-time head of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, dismisses them as "notorious" publicity hounds who have been repudiated by "reputable scientists"; actually the arguments of Gofman and Tamplin are widely accepted and have led to some tightening of AEC radiation standards.

The film then examines clean alternatives to both fossil and nuclear energy sources–geothermal power in California; magnetohydrodynamics, now being explored in the USSR; and tidal power generators operating on the French coast. It concludes that "we've barely scratched the surface of the nuclear power problem," and that "there are some compelling questions" to answer before we blunder ahead full steam in converting to atomic power.

Clearly, "Powers that Be" does not pretend to be impartial journalism. As Jack Lemmon narrates the film, his anger is at times unmistakable. And Widener, who began the project as an exploration of alternatives to fossil fuels, became increasingly surprised at the absence of any documentaries devoted entirely to nuclear energy, and increasingly appalled at the "cavalier" way in which the nuclear power industry handled the unanswered questions about radiation. Widener became convinced that a truly catastrophic accident was only a matter of time, and that the public needed an antidote to the line promoted by the AEC and the nuclear industry. He administered it on March 17, 1971, to the viewing audience of KNBC-TV.

* * *

The antidote must have tasted bitter over at PG&E, where a counterattack was soon underway. Out of the hour-long documentary, company officials thought they had found a weak spot, a brief segment filmed at their Humboldt County, Calif., nuclear power plant. Widener had interviewed James C. Carroll, supervising steam generation engineer for PG&E, about problems experienced with faulty fuel rods when the plant first opened in the early Sixties. In the segment broadcast, Carroll declined to answer, saying that "it's too lengthy a question." (see box, page 58)

On July 13, Carroll sent an angry letter, apparently reviewed and revised several times by his superiors at PG&E, to Station Manager Robert Howard, at KNBC-TV. He attacked "this 'so-called' documentary [as] the most irresponsible piece of journalism purporting to present a technical subject to a lay audience which I have ever encountered.... [It] is replete with half truths, innuendos, and worse." Then Carroll went on to accuse Widener "of a gross breach of journalistic ethics" by secretly taping a pre-interview discussion, during which he was asked about the problem of faulty fuel rods, and allegedly splicing it into the formal interview. Carroll claimed that, during that informal discussion, he had offered either to 1) say that the charge was untrue or 2) give a five to ten minute explanation of the development of fuel rods. According to Carroll, Widener gave the impression that such an answer would be too long, and he thought the matter would be dropped. When the same question was repeated in the formal interview, Carroll says he offered to supply "the five to ten minute explanation which we had previously discussed." (Carroll summarizes what he would have said, in his letter of complaint to Robert Howard; it takes less than a minute to read aloud.) But to Carroll's shock, the finished documentary made it appear that he had refused to answer a reasonable question–allegedly by splicing in one of his answers out of context.

The year was 1971, and Spiro Agnew was still terrorizing the media with charges of elitist, biased, distorted news coverage. The complaint was so specific that it might have seemed credible–the words of a hapless engineer distorted and used out of

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context. And PG&E's Washington lobbyist, Ralph B. Dewey, made certain that "this insidious kind of news gathering" was brought to the attention of appropriate government authorities. In nearly identical letters, dated July 28, to FCC chief Dean Burch, to Senator John Pastore, chairman of the Senate Communications Subcommittee, and Senator Warren Magnuson, chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, Dewey simplified the charge even further.

The attached letter to NBC from one of our executives complains bitterly about an NBC reporter's chicanerous (if not illegal) use of interview material. . . . This case involves the use, over the air, of parts of a tape-recording of pre-interview *discussions between an NBC reporter and one of our senior engineers, Mr. J. C. Carroll. . . . This represents a new low in news management and biased reporting and was a clear attempt to discredit an individual and an entire industry (nuclear power); the facts take the hindmost.*

In this instance, however, the facts seemed squarely behind Widener. KNBC Station Manager Howard backed up Widener in his August 13 reply to J. C. Carroll, saying that, after review of the film shot, and interviews with the producer and his crew, "We believe that your interview was conducted in a professional manner, that there was no recording or filming of any kind done without your knowledge, and that your interview was not in any way distorted, used out of context, or altered." Nor did PG&E's complaints bear fruit in Washington. Nicholas Zapple, counsel to Senator Pastore's subcommittee, told lobbyist Dewey that J. C. Carroll's accusations were "off base." William B. Ray, chief of the FCC's Complaints and Compliance Division, says that PG&E never followed up its original complaint, and that no evidence was ever presented to warrant action by the FCC.

In fact, a careful viewing of "Powers that Be" shows that J. C. Carroll's words are perfectly synchronized with his lip movements—a virtually impossible triumph of editing if his answers had actually been taken from a surreptitiously taped conversation. Carroll, perhaps upset at reports of the bad impression he had made, delivered his protest without first having seen the film.

But PG&E didn't seem worried about being caught out on a limb with a flimsy complaint. J. C. Carroll, maligned or not, could twist slowly in the wind for a while, as long as NBC was made to reconsider the wisdom of showing a documentary harmful to the nuclear industry. Thus a memo of August 12, 1971, written by F. D. Draeger, head of PG&E's news bureau, talks about three "pro-nuclear" editorials aired by KNBC as "some compensation for the potential damage wrought by Don Widener's "Powers that Be" documentary." And he credits this "pro-nuclear attitude" largely to PG&E's promise to demand equal time whenever this film was shown; Carroll's letter to Station Manager Howard; and Ralph Dewey's letters to "certain parties" in Washington, D.C. Lobbyist Dewey was even more blunt, writing on September 13—again, a memo not intended for public viewing, but subpoenaed by Widener's attorney—that "the fact that NBC is upset at our aggressive approach is just what we wanted."

* * *

How upsetting *was* PG&E's "aggressive approach?" For one thing, Widener's contract with KNBC was allowed to lapse soon after his last documentary was aired, although this is open to conflicting interpretations. For another, KNBC quickly removed the film from its library, where it would otherwise have been available for use by groups concerned about nuclear reactors. And finally, PG&E is suing Widener, and "John Does one through one hundred" involved in making and broadcasting the documentary, for $6 million, which has led the NBC legal department to take even stronger steps to lock up "Powers that Be."

The lawsuit developed after Widener's job at KNBC ended, and it may yet blow up in the face of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Widener believes that the commotion set off by "Powers that Be" contributed to NBC's unwillingness to use his services again. This is disputed by Robert Howard, now president of the NBC television network. Howard, who still stands behind Widener's work and his professionalism, attributes the departure of the award-winning producer to normal turnover—to the need for giving other creative people a chance to produce.

In fact, Widener had apparently intended to leave KNBC completely and "produce independently for all takers," according to a Los Angeles columnist writing well before "Powers that Be" was broadcast. And Widener had long been dissatisfied working directly for KNBC; he cites difficulties in working with the network bureaucracy, in getting the funds and coopera-

(JACK LEMMON): This reactor in northern California has been operating since the 1950s. But not without criticism. Such as faulty fuel rods, a problem since corrected. We asked PG&E's James C. Carroll about such criticisms.

(DON WIDENER): Mr. Carroll, as you know, there have been published criticisms of the plant here for using improper construction materials in the beginning. Can you describe what that's all about?

(JAMES C. CARROLL): Well this is analagous to a problem you have in your industry. There were criticisms of improper design and construction techniques in early color television sets that resulted in excessive radiation to people.

(DON WIDENER): What was it exactly that the critics were talking about in your case?

(JAMES C. CARROLL): I don't think we ought to answer that, it's too lengthy a question.

(JACK LEMMON): Long questions. Sometimes short answers. It's tough to get a matched set.

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tion he needed. That was why he left NBC in 1970; his last three documentaries were made under contract for NBC as an independent producer.

Yet there have been very few takers for Widener's work, Emmys or not, since he left KNBC. For even though PG&E's complaint was apparently rejected by the network, and by Washington officials, Widener points out that he is now known in the broadcast industry as a man *accused* of one of the worst possible violations of journalistic ethics. And in a time-selling industry like television, controversy involving a major corporation is a serious faux pas.

And so in September 1971, Widener brought suit in Los Angeles for libel, against PG&E, J. C. Carroll, Ralph B. Dewey, and John Does I through X, inclusive, saying that their "malicious charges were intended to discredit [him] as an accurate and ethical producer of film documentaries and to thereby suppress broadcasting and other dissemination of the documentary 'Powers that Be' . . . [and] to defame Plaintiff's reputation, to injure him in his business, trade and occupation." He is asking $3 million in damages.

PG&E waited a few months, got the case transferred to San Francisco (where its headquarters are located) in January 1972, and then in April filed a cross-complaint, demanding a permanent injunction against distributing the film or transcript as a whole. PG&E repeated its original charges that Widener had "edited, cut and altered by technical means the film and recorded statements of CARROLL and others . . . in a preconceived scheme and conspiracy to discredit nuclear fueled electric power plants."

Obtaining an injunction would be, in fact, superfluous; "Powers that Be," legally the property of KNBC, had already been withdrawn from circulation. The official story now is that the NBC legal department ordered the film locked up after PG&E filed suit. Robert Howard recalls that it was available for use, as is normal with film documentaries, for almost a year; and that NBC's litigation department took charge of the matter only when threatened with a claim for $6 million. But Widener claims that the documentary was withdrawn the moment a controversy developed, when J. C. Carroll wrote his first letter in July 1971. He also claims that many individuals and groups inquired about using the film, to no avail. And although KNBC's legal department refuses to discuss any aspects of a matter "in litigation," one source contacted at the station tended to support Widener's account.

The only other copies of "Powers that Be" were in the hands of Jalem (Jack Lemmon) Productions, which automatically received two prints as provided in Lemmon's contract. And as they had done with Widener's other documentaries, Jalem Productions made "Powers that Be" available for showing by interested groups. In fact, demand was so great that in early 1973, Jalem Productions requested five more prints from KNBC—a right also guaranteed in Lemmon's contract. To be sure, Jalem had to sign an agreement that "said recordings shall be used solely for private screenings in connection with library, reference, file and audition purposes, and the recordings will never be publicly exhibited in any manner or medium whatsoever." But, according to Richard Carter of Jalem Productions, this agreement has always been a formality, treated as little more than a receipt for films obtained from NBC.

This time, however, NBC appears to have felt differently about the formality. In November 1973, Jack Lemmon lent a print of "Powers that Be" to Friends of the Earth, who showed it at a conference of the American Nuclear Society in San Francisco—PG&E's home town. Somehow it "came to the attention" of NBC that one of Lemmon's prints had been used in violation of his agreement, and he was requested "to take appropriate action immediately to prevent any further screenings." (According to Widener's attorney, PG&E won't admit having brought the matter to NBC's attention.) Lemmon was compelled to comply; only in June 1974 did he arrange an informal compromise with NBC, whereby the one-minute J. C. Carroll segment would be deleted from the film, so that it could be shown.

Meanwhile, Widener's lawsuit, and PG&E's cross complaint, had remained dormant for nearly two years. His first attorney left to become a judge in Los

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Angeles; his second attorney seemed unenthusiastic about pursuing the case. So Widener talked with people in Ralph Nader's California organization, and they recommended David Pesonen, an attorney in Charles Garry's San Francisco law firm.

Now PG&E had reason to feel anxious. Pesonen is a hero in many quarters in Northern California. In the early 1960s he organized the successful campaign to halt construction of PG&E's nuclear reactor at Bodega Bay —one quarter mile from the San Andreas Fault; and he was the lawyer for the Sierra Club task force which blocked another PG&E reactor at Point Arena. When Pesonen entered the case in early 1974, San Francisco Superior Court Judge Clayton Horn was considering a motion to drop Widener's case for lack of prosecution. According to Pesonen, PG&E would be happy to drop the whole matter, including their $6 million counterclaim. After all, the film had been out of circulation for some time, as had Don Widener; the last thing the giant utility wanted was an airing of the controversy over reactor safety.

It now seems unlikely that PG&E will get off that easily. Determined that "PG&E's case *can't* be sustained," Pesonen quickly got the case moving again, with a flurry of subpoenas for evidence and pre-trial testimony. It now appears that the case may come to trial before the end of 1974. In a year when California may have a chance to vote for tight controls on nuclear reactors, PG&E can hardly expect to silence the debate on reactor safety. If PG&E loses its case, it will at the very least be discouraged from future attempts to intimidate its critics. But beyond that, it may have to live with a judicial determination that Widener and Lemmon were not engaging in "irresponsible journalism" when they reported that "Nuclear critics . . . state that nuclear power is not only dirty and undependable . . . it's about as safe as a closetful of cobras." □

PG&E AD

(*From page 27*)

gress, nuclear energy costs more per kilowatt hour, even when the reactors are operating properly, than geothermal, coal, or hydropower. The JEC's study did not count the cost of government nuclear fuel subsidies or the 500 percent increase in construction costs over the past 10 years. Not even PG&E claims that nuclear power will bring down the consumer price of electricity, or even keep it from rising further.

26. Instead of combustion products, nuclear power generation releases *radiation* into the environment.

27. The Price-Anderson Act means that the nuclear power industry is the only industry in the country insured by the U.S. government, because private insurance companies refuse to cover nuclear plants for more than a tiny fraction of possible damages caused by a nuclear accident. Insurance companies also refuse to cover homes for nuclear accidents–not when according to the AEC a nuclear disaster could cause $17 *billion* in property damages (other estimates go as high as $280 billion). Not even the government will cover more than a fraction of that amount–hence the $450 million limit (plus $110 million in private insurance).

28. Why do higher electric bills mean more jobs?

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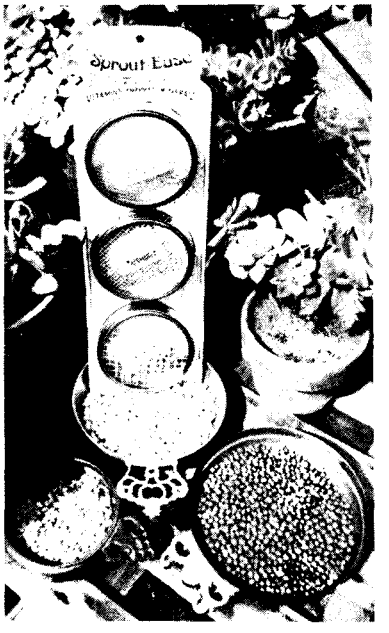

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Ramparts

TO OUR NEWSSTAND READERS:
We thought you might like to see this letter which we recently sent to Ramparts subscribers.

"For the moment, Berkeley is in order, if not at peace. Pickets have put away their placards, classes have been resumed, and so it will remain—if the regents behave sensibly. And in five or ten years, the demonstrators will talk nostalgically about the old days and think that the new undergraduates have no fire in their bellies."

—GILBERT HARRISON, writing in the *New Republic* in the aftermath of FSM, Berkeley's Free Speech Movement of 1964.

Dear Subscribers,

The ten-year mark is now almost upon us. Calling this old prophecy to mind conjures up a rather haunting question. Are the great, radicalizing movements of the Sixties truly ready for the nostalgia heap? There is certainly a pervasive notion that the radicalizing process which extended through that decade has had its day, that the promise of its growth has turned out empty, that it didn't have the staying power we had hoped.

It is the kind of question that has particular resonance for this magazine and the readers who have joined it. *Ramparts*, now in its twelfth year, is very much a product of that same political epoch. And one cannot deny the retrospective pride which participation in that history evokes. Great things were done, greater than we who did them knew. It is not hard to recognize that predicted feeling: Surely we had fire in our bellies then.

But in many ways a great explosion of political vitality does seem to be spent. A feeling of political exhaustion has been widespread and, along with it, the impulse to drop out of conflict with the evils of the system. There is the sense that the social tide has turned against us, the forces of opposition played out, the country has turned right, the people have been taken in, or have just returned to dead center, impatient of division and discord, and of dissenters forever tearing down America. Somehow or other, Richard Nixon's re-election established itself as a decisive omen of America's returning to a stodgy and secure repose, a turning back to normalcy, a signal that the unsettling shocks and challenges of the Sixties had at last been put behind us. There was the feeling that the system had been tested and had come through with renewed stability and public confidence.

[BACK TO NORMAL?]

Of course, the predictions of Nixon's "four more years" as an era of normalcy could not have been further from the mark. The vicuna coat and deep-freeze scandals of the Eisenhower years were hardly enough for us to be inured to Watergate. There were no impeachments in those years, not one attorney-general indicted. There was nothing to compare with our energy crisis, nor runaway inflation. The dream of normalcy involves a confidence in steady progress, not easily sustained when the almighty dollar is reduced to funny money, so that the real spendable earnings of the average worker today are lower than they were in 1965.

The political state of mind really prevailing in the United States was effectively obscured by Nixon's imposition of his own definition of the electoral mandate: military strength; self-reliance; a diminished government responsibility for social problems; toughing it out in southeast Asia. But the stresses of the second term have revealed with startling rapidity that Nixon's so-called New Majority was a concoction of the illusory and the ephemeral. The real shift in public attitudes began not with Watergate but with the emerging crisis brought on by the Vietnam War. On a comprehensive range of issues, there has been a sharply leftward shift cutting broadly across various social groups with the erosion of status quo support already dramatic at the time of Nixon's re-election. In that election year *Business Week* editorialized a remarkably apocalyptic warning:

> *The swift decline in the esteem in which the general public holds business is a sign of serious trouble ahead for corporate management. This disaffection shows up not only in a reluctance to buy some goods and services, but in a growing anti-business hostility. . . . If the trend continues, it could lead to painful changes in the free enterprise system.*

The occasion for this warning was the publication of a series of studies by the Opinion Research Corporation. "ORC's surveys," reported the magazine, "document the suspicion that there is a major political issue in complaints against the 'system'—and possibly against business itself. The important thing is the trend line, and some of these trends . . . started as far back as twenty years ago, with the major turn coming around 1965." So, for example, in 1965 persons expressing low approval of big business already outnumbered those expressing high approval by something more than two to one (45% to 19%). But by 1972 the margin of disfavor had grown to fully six to one (60% to 10%). And, *BW* found "even more worrisome, perhaps, the ranks of the traditionally strong supporters of business—Republicans, professionals, managers, college graduates, the affluent, the initiators (thought leaders and people most active in public affairs)." Even among these groups the base of business approval since 1965 had been cut in half.

A 1972 survey of the national mood by Potomac Associates, unrelated to the election, showed a clear reordering of popular priorities. Out of a list of 21 government-spending priorities, only two might even seem to fit in with the myth of New Majority reaction: combatting crime and coping with the drug problem. The rest of the top priorities, with a score of 80 or above do not: Helping the elderly, reducing water pollution, reducing air pollution, improving education of low-income children, improving medical and health care. And the Nixonian vision looks even worse off in the bottom five scorers which at best were fifty points below those mentioned: Spending for defense forces, main-

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taining US forces in Europe, spending for space, providing economic aid to foreign countries, and providing military aid to foreign countries.

What saved Nixon from his low ebb of first-term popularity was almost entirely his concessions on the cold war. When asked to name his top achievement, voters chose the trip to China (59%) and to Russia (54%). By comparison his position on welfare was only listed by 19%; law and order 17%; school bussing 17%; dealing with dissenters 5%. How then is this a period of conservative reaction?

[THEIR INSTITUTIONS AND OURS]

At a time in America when loyalty and commitment to institutions of any kind is rare, you have sustained this magazine, voting with your feet by standing by us when you could have walked away. In past letters such as this, we have written the obituaries of magazines like *Life*, *Look*, *Colliers* and the *Saturday Review;* now *Intellectual Digest* has joined them. Although our twelve years have never been especially financially secure, the list of magazines we have now outlived begins to make us look positively stable by comparison.

In the magazine business *Ramparts* readers are considered something of a phenomenon. Writing letters of this kind, and especially requesting early renewals as we do, is considered most unbusinesslike on our part, and even slightly mad. What the hard-headed, realistic business-types don't grasp is that *Ramparts* is not a business, and that is why it isn't mad for us to write like this. It is an act of faith, a faith that you have generously justified by your responses in the past. For you to renew early for future years is another act of faith, faith in what *Ramparts* is trying to do. It expresses another kind of faith as well, about yourself, that the political concern, moral sensibility, openness to change, even, one may say, the courage of your curiosity, will endure from year to year.

There is extremely serious and highly effective activism going on right now within this country, with implicit challenges that go to the heart of the status of privilege and wealth. The private prerogatives of business are being made public issues, and the divergence between the priorities of usefulness and profit is being driven home. There are initiative campaigns, consumer price boycotts, organized challenges to public agencies and the irresponsibility of private corporations. This is not a replay of the Sixties nor should it be.

In a way we have attained a higher political plateau, and we are starting at the bottom once again to scale another range of heights. But to start anew is not to start from scratch. Drawing thoughtfully on our experience, we can recognize the similarities in the movements now at hand, and appreciate the differences as well, learn from the past without living in it.

So ten years after the days of FSM we do not look back at the fire in our bellies with a bemused indulgence. We look back with pride. In the years ahead we hope to look back once again with pride in the perseverance of a maturing vision—in time perhaps a vision that redeems from the American experience its finest aspirations in the creation of a new reality. If we did not believe that *Ramparts* is a vital institution—now more than ever if we may put it so—the embarrassment of asking for your money would be too much. But we are convinced that *Ramparts is* vital, and its needs merit whatever help you can afford. If that means subscribing for more than one year—for three or four or twelve, or a sustaining lifetime sub—then we hope you will do that. It is not extravagant, but a rare thing in these times—money that is well spent.

For the staff,

Patricia Hell

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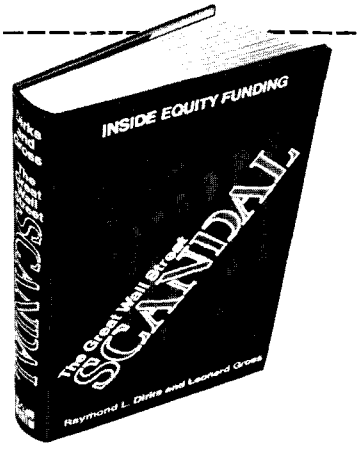

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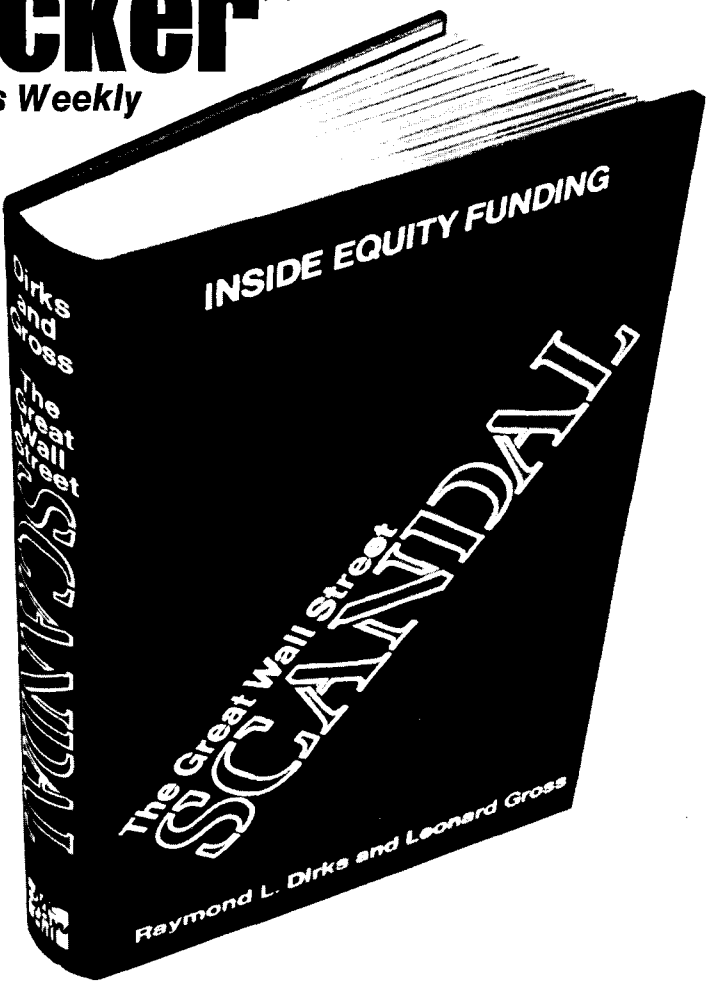
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